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Mooted Questions

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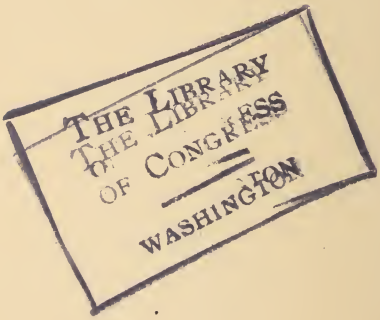

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NOTE.

The plan pursued in the following pages is to give, under each topic, a succinct statement of the facts — embodying the leading points of information necessary to a clear view; and to follow this with quotations from some well known historians — indicating briefly their judgment upon the whole case or upon controverted points thereof.

THE TRUTH OF HISTORY.

REFERRING to contemporary accounts of the famous "Popish plot," Macaulay indicates something of the evolution of partisan history by remarking: "These stories [one of which represented that the Catholics started the great London fire of 1666] are now altogether exploded. They have been abandoned by statesmen to aldermen, by aldermen to clergymen, by clergymen to old women, and by old women to Sir Harcourt Lees."

There are other stories which have also gotten down to the credulity of Sir Harcourt Lees or his counterparts in our generation. It is scarcely necessary to allude to them here; they have passed from history to controversy, from controversy to legendary, and from legendary to a place beside the narratives of Baron Munchausen and the

escapades of Little Red Riding Hood. There are historical traditions, however, that are in the process, and not so far advanced as these. Aldermen yet believe them. Clergymen (sad to say) tell them. Or, if given up in such quarters, old women still pin their faith to them; and make them the material for nursery yarns to bias the minds of children, and unconsciously affect the adult judgment in after years.

The truth of history is most commonly tampered with, not by pure inventions, but rather in matters of more or less plausibility concerning the *details*—which color events; or going to the question of *motives*—which determine the credit or the guilt of acts and occurrences.*

* As Prof. Prothero recently said at Edinburgh University: "Take any great movement you please—the Crusades, for instance, or the Reformation; analyze it as minutely as possible, ascertain all its conditions, its general causes, its immediate occasions—there remains the incalculable human element, which defies the processes of exact science. We cannot be certain of this man's motives, nor measure the influence which that man exerted. The human element in the subject calls out the human element in the student. Not

A careful sifting process is necessary to get at the undoubted facts in all controverted cases, and, as the ordinary reader cannot afford the time or expense of original investigation and research, it seems a more practical course to call in the reputable historians, of all schools and sects, and from their testimony to get as near to the truth as possible.*

We must not permit ourselves to be the dupes of those fierce partisans who lived in other ages and wished their opponents to be misjudged by posterity. We are not properly part of this elder age of the world unless we share its maturer judgment; and unless we possess its ability of seeing through the one-sided details presented by the skilled

only is the investigation obscured, but the sympathies of the investigator are aroused, and his judgment is liable to be warped at every turn. History alone suffers from this doubly-distorting medium. Other sciences are free from its effects."

* "Historic truth never can be elicited save by comparison," says Sir Francis Palgrave.—(History of Normandy and England. Preface.)

apologists of parties and sects in less instructed centuries to defend their actions or asperse the conduct of their adversaries.

Neither do we want to inherit the partisan prejudices of conflicts waged in former centuries. Our condition for a cooler and more deliberate judgment is better, and our perspective for giving the facts their just importance is also better. We must not have the opinions of angry, uncharitable, unwise men forced upon us; but we must seek for ourselves the broad, dispassionate, accurate view that alone can make the lessons of the past helpful. Our loyalty to Truth is above all loyalty to any institution or party, past or present.

In a survey of a series of controverted historical topics, this will occur as a safe method of procedure:

1. What are the facts of the case, as fairly conceded by all sides?

2. What is a just estimate from a general survey of the matter, on the basis of these facts?

3. Is this estimate borne out by the opinions of historians who are ranged, so far as the general issue goes, on the other side? If that be the case, then the facts and the conclusions may be regarded as reasonably certain.

THE "DARK AGES."

IT has been pertinently said, that the 'darkness' of certain mediæval centuries is all in the minds of the persons applying the term. From those distant shores of the past, very few echoes reach us in these latter years of the nineteenth century. Superficial observation has concluded that there was 'little going on,' and that the entire population was, as the phrase is, "sunk in ignorance," not to mention "superstition" and "barbarism."

Tallyrand's notion that history is "a conspiracy against truth" receives some illustration in this attitude towards the middle ages. "A dead set," says Sir Francis Palgrave, "has been made against the middle ages as periods immersed in darkness, ignorance and barbarity. But, most of all, have these censures been directed against

mediæval Christianity."* Fleury indicates that this conspiracy to blacken the middle ages began with the Humanists of the Renaissance period. Their movement was a reaction against the old learning; to commend the new tone they wished to impart to civilization, it was necessary to deprecate the old. The Reformation readily adopted the same unfavorable view; and the skeptical writers of the eighteenth century had a natural antipathy to ages dominated, as the mediæval centuries were, by Christianity. The more researchful historian of the nineteenth century has been disturbing this censorious judgment against the middle ages, by manifesting a disposition to go over the grounds again in a more scientific spirit.

The term "dark ages" has been deemed comprehensive enough to cover the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. The masses in those ages could not read or write. We find in legal instruments of the time: "And the aforesaid lord hath declared, that

* History of Normandy and England. (Preface.)

he does not know how to sign his name owing to the fact of his being a nobleman." And a knight being asked to read the Scriptures, retorted: "I am not a clerk; I have a family to support."

Illiteracy, however, is not ignorance. Nor would inability to read, mean as much in the ninth century as it does in the nineteenth. Let the world of to-day lose the "art preservative of all the arts"—printing; let the newspaper vanish from the land, and the cheap school book be a thing of the past; throw us back to the condition of manuscript books, multiplied slowly and painfully: and instead of five million illiterates, such as we have to-day in this land of light and progress, we might have twenty or thirty millions.

The illiterate people in the ages previous to the invention of printing were more intelligent, in their time, than are the illiterate of to-day. To be unable to read now-a-days means backwardness, neglect of opportunities, and stupidity. Quite the

contrary in the mediæval epoch: Illiteracy was excusable, and, in a certain sense, fashionable, inasmuch as it was a common necessity. The naturally intelligent, who in our day would be "common-schooled," were, in that epoch, illiterate.

Another consideration that must be borne in mind in instituting comparisons between the ninth and the nineteenth century, is the circumstances of mediæval civilization. For over two centuries (to A. D. 650) civilized Europe was the field of successive waves of barbarian conquest. Franks, Goths, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Vandals, Alans, Huns and Lombards followed each other with destructive incursions. One wave pushed the other further on. The barbarians apparently did not conquer for the purpose of occupying the soil and building up empires, but for the purpose of plunder. The condition was consequently one of continued commotion through several generations. The case of the Vandals is in point: they pushed through France and settled for

a time in Spain; later, 80,000 of them crossed, under Genseric, to Carthage, where a Vandal empire was established for almost a century; and the Vandals, organized as pirates, came down upon the commerce of the Mediteranian and even returned to desolate Rome. Attila inflicted himself as the "scourge of God" upon Christian Europe. The Northmen broke the calm after the other barbarians had subsided, and the Moslem invasion from the South was only checked by Charles Martel after a desperate fight (A. D. 732). The assimilation of ten successive waves of northern barbarians,—savages from the woods,—and the blows such invasions meant to existing and civilizing institutions made the task of mediæval society most difficult and gradual.

Civilization had, in fact, to be begun over. We do not call a boy decrepit because he lacks the strength of a man. Neither ought we to slur the society of the tenth century as "dark" and "ignorant" because it did not rapidly attain the standard of our

day. There is no responsibility where the conditions are natural and inexorable. The mediæval centuries were constantly forcing the civilization and culture of European society forward. It was the germinating epoch of the modern world. There was no standing still; no retrogression. There was constant advance. In the epoch that, in the retrospect seems most hopeless and unprogressive, *i. e.*, about the close of the tenth century, three conspicuous inventions were made that the modern world finds of indispensable value: Clocks were devised by the monk Gerbert, the musical scale by the monk Guy, and the manufacture of paper from rags was first attempted. Common schools for the masses date even a little earlier, and some of the great universities of modern Europe were founded in the spirit of improvement that strongly evinced itself.

The nineteenth century goes back to the eleventh to admire the magnificent Gothic architecture that flourished in that epoch,

leaving monuments that are copied in the finest temples of to-day. And the state of architecture has been shrewdly accepted by historians as one of the safest gauges of the progress attained in the other arts.

"Abstractedly from all the influences which we have sustained in common with the rest of the civilized commonwealth, our British disparagement of the middle ages has been exceedingly enhanced by our grizzled ecclesiastical or church historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. * * These 'standard works,' accepted and received as canonical books, have tainted the nobility of our national mind. An adequate parallel to their bitterness, their shabbiness, their shirking, their habitual disregard of honor and veracity, is hardly afforded, even by the so-called "*Anti-Jacobin*" press during the revolutionary and imperial wars. The history of Napoleon, his generals, and the French nation, collected from these exaggerations of selfish loyalty,

rabid aversion, and panic terror, would be the match of our popular and prevailing ideas concerning Hildebrand, or Anselm, or Becket, or Innocent III., or mediæval Catholicity in general, grounded upon our ancestral traditionary 'Standard ecclesiastical authorities,' such as Burnett's 'Reformation,' or Fox's 'Book of Martyrs.' * * "The scheme of, and intent of, mediæval Catholicity was to render faith the all-actuating and all-controlling vitality. * * So far as the system extended, it had the effect of connecting every social element with Christianity. And Christianity being thus wrought up into the mediæval system, every mediæval institution, character or mode of thought afforded the means or vehicle for the villification of Christianity. Never do these writers, or their school, whether in France or in Great Britain, Voltaire or Mably, Hume, Robertson, or Henry, treat the clergy or the Church with fairness—not even with common honesty. If historical notoriety enforces the allowance of any

merit to a priest, the effect of this extorted acknowledgment is destroyed by a happy turn, a clever insinuation, or a coarse innuendo. Consult, for example, Hume, when compelled to notice Archbishop Langton's exertions in procuring the concession of the Magna Charta; and Henry, narrating the communications which passed between Gregory the Great and Saint Austin."

Sir Francis Palgrave's History of Normandy and England. London, MacMillan & Co., 1878. (Preface, xiv-viii.)

"I cannot help wishing that the reader who has formed his idea of the dark ages only from some modern popular writers—I do not mean those who have written professedly on the subject—could be at once fairly thrown back into the midst of them. I cannot help thinking that he would feel very much as I did the first time that I found myself in a foreign country. A thousand novelties attracted my attention. * * Well, and these old folks of the dark

ages were our grandfathers and grandmothers; and, in a good many points, vastly like ourselves, though we may not at first see the resemblance in the few smoky family pictures which have come down to us; but "had they not eyes?" had they "not hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions, fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer" as we are? "Yes; but they knew nothing." Well, then it is strange to think how they could do and say so much as they did without any knowledge.

"The Dark Ages," by Dr. Maitland, pp. 30-31. (London. John Hodges, Pub., 1890.)

"In the middle age, however, as in antiquity, the era of the foundation of states and nations, the era of legislation preceded that of the arts and of general refinement. * * Of ignorance, however, and defective civilization, it is scarcely

possible to accuse an age wherein the Mediterranean was covered with ships as richly laden and its coasts, by commercial cities as prosperous and powerful, as the most flourishing epoch of Greece. * * * an age wherein architecture soared with a new flight and painting attained such high and hitherto unparalleled development and perfection; an age wherein philosophy almost too widely cultivated, became an affair of state and practical life, wherein all the historical and literary knowledge, which was at that time by any channels accessible, was pursued with passionate eagerness and desire, when natural science and mathematics were investigated and studied with untiring eagerness, until at last the two grand discoveries by which the mind of man attained its majority, the discovery of the new hemisphere and planetary motions, that is, of the true magnitude of the heaven

and earth, crowned the research and labors of centuries."

A course of lectures on Modern History, Frederick Schlegel; edition of Bohn's Library, London, 1849, Lectures 9 and 10, pp. 118-9.

"In modern Europe the middle ages were called the Dark Ages, ten centuries, from the fifth to the fifteenth. Who dares to call them so now? They gave us decimal numbers, gunpowder, glass, chemistry, and Gothic architecture; and their paintings are the delight and tuition of our age. * * * The darkness of those times arises from our own want of information, not from the absence of intelligence that distinguished them. Human thought was never more active and never produced greater results in any period of the world."

Emerson, Oration at Harvard.

"This glorious Elizabethan era, with its Shakespeare as the outcome and flower-age of all which had preceded it, is itself attributable to the Catholics of the middle

ages. The Christian faith, which was the theme of Dante's song, had produced the practical life which Shakespeare was to sing."

Carlyle, "Hero and Poet."

"If the modern ecclesiastic should ever meet with a crop-eared monk of the tenth century, he may, if he pleases, laugh at him for not having read Virgil; but if he should himself be led to confess that, though a priest of Christ's Catholic church, and nourished in the languages of Greece and Rome till they were almost as familiar to him as his own, he had never read a single page of Chrysostom or Basil, of Augustine or Jerome, of Ambrose of Hilary—if he should confess this, I am of the opinion that the poor monk would cross himself, and make off without looking behind him."

"The Dark Ages," by Dr. Maitland, p. 207. (London. John Hodges Pub., 1890.)

"The praise of having originally established schools belongs to some bishops and

abbots of the sixth century. They came in place of the Imperial schools, overthrown by the barbarians. In the downfall of that temporal dominion, a spiritual aristocracy was providentially raised up, to save from extinction the remains of learning and of religion itself. Some of these schools seem to have been preserved in the south of Italy, though merely, perhaps, for elementary instruction. * * * The cathedral and conventual schools, created or restored by Charlemagne, became the means of preserving that small portion of learning which continued to exist. They flourished most, having had time to produce their fruits, under his successors, Louis, the Debonair, Lothaire, and Charles the Bald."

Hallam's Intro. to Lit. I, 27. New York. (Harper Bros., 1842).

CHRISTIANITY AS A CIVILIZER.

THE moral forces in society were all throughout the middle ages engaged in a stupendous labor of regeneration.

1. In the pagan world, slavery was an established and unquestioned condition. Plato made it the topic of eulogy in his "Republic." But all the instincts of Christianity were hostile to human bondage. "It is not ordained," protested St. Augustine, "that man should rule over man; his dominion is solely over brute creation." Reiterated by the canons of the Church and in the writings of her schoolmen, these ideas slowly, but surely, undermined the custom of slavery. First by improving the condition of the slave, then by protecting his freedom when manumitted, and finally by making it a meritorious act to give freedom to serfs and to redeem captives,

the Church accomplished a mighty stride in the path of human equality.

2. The elevation of woman proceeded on a similar principle. Marriage was made a Sacrament and chastity a virtue. Monogamy was prescribed; polygamy, denounced. From being an inferior, the wife was raised to the position of a companion and an equal. So transcendent a change could have come only through powerful religious conviction.

3. Chivalry was the efflorescence of this religious sentiment under the conditions of feudalism. Its cardinal principles were courage, gentleness of manner, and respect for sacred things. Undoubtedly, it operated as a most potent solvent against barbarism and the attributes of the rude warrior.

4. The "Truce of God," originating in France about 1050, and spreading into Germany and England, was another device of the Church against the ferocity of the age. It was made ground for excommunication to do battle on four days of the

week (Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday), corresponding with the death and resurrection of Christ. Council after council reiterated this decree. A wonderful cessation of feudal strife and bloody knight errantry ensued as a consequence.

5. The establishment of trade unions, guilds and corporations was one of the most progressive steps in the history of the middle ages. Religion had much to do with these associations; they bore the names of saints and respected certain Church holidays. Sandi, in his Civil History of Venice, counts over sixty trade corporations in that city at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Hanseatic League was modeled after religious communities, even to the extent of enjoining celibacy.

6. The influence of the Church was naturally exerted in favor of the poor and the decrepit. Hospitals were placed by the secular governments under the charge of bishops and religious orders, and asylums were respected as Church property.

7. The mitigation of the criminal code, the restraint of tyranny, the protection of the weak as against the exactions of the strong, and the inculcation of gentle manners, were direct consequences of Christian teachings. The Sermon on the Mount was the great text of the mediæval preacher. And, indeed, no lessons were more in demand and of more wholesome effect.

"The authority of the priests operated in the darker ages as a salutary antidote. They prevented the total extinction of letters, mitigated the fierceness of the times, sheltered the poor and defenseless, and preserved or restored the peace and order of civil society."

Gibbon, History of the Decline and Fall of The Roman Empire. Chap. 61. (Vol. VI. p. 230, Harper Bros. ed. 1880.)

"The extinction of the gladiatorial spectacle is, of all the results of early Christian influence, that upon which the

historian can look with the deepest and most unmingled satisfaction."

Lecky's History of European Morals. Vol. II., Chap. 4, p. 38. (D. Appleton & Co., 1877.)

"The relations of rulers to their subjects, and of tribunals to the poor, were modified by the intervention of the Church. When Antioch was threatened with destruction on account of its rebellion against Theodosius, the anchorites poured forth from the neighboring deserts to intercede with the ministers of the Emperor, while Archbishop Flavian went himself as a suppliant to Rome. St. Ambrose imposed public penance on Theodosius on account of the massacre of Thessalonica. Synesius excommunicated for his oppression a governor named Andronicus; and two French councils, in the sixth century, imposed the same penalty on all great men who arbitrarily ejected the poor. St. Abraham, St. Epiphanius and St. Basil are all said to have obtained the remission or reduction of oppressive imposts. To provide for the

interest of the widows and orphans was part of the ecclesiastical duty, and a Council of Macon anathematized any ruler who brought them to trial without first apprising the Bishop of the diocese. A council of Toledo, in the fifth century, threatened with excommunication all who robbed priests, monks, or poor men, or refused to listen to their expostulations. * * As time rolled on, charity assumed many forms, and every monastery became a centre from which it radiated. By the monks the nobles were overawed, the poor protected, the sick tended, travelers sheltered, prisoners ransomed, the remotest spheres of suffering explored."

Lecky's History of European Morals. Vol. II., Chap. 4, pp. 83-84 (Ed. of D. Appleton & Co. 1877.)

"No society ever made greater efforts than the Christian Church did from the fifth to the tenth century to influence the world about it and to assimilate it to itself. When its history shall become the particular object of our examination we shall more clearly

see what it attempted. It attacked, in a manner, barbarism at every point in order to civilize it and rule over it."

Guizot's History of Civilization. (Vol. I. Lecture 3, p. 75.)

"She [the Church] combated with much pertinacity and perseverance the great vices of the social condition, particularly slavery. * * The church did not labor less worthily for the improvement of civil and criminal legislation. * * * Finally, she endeavored by every means in her power to suppress the frequent recourse which at this period was had to violence, and the continual wars to which society was so prone."

Guizot's History of Civilization, Lecture 6.

"In no form of charity was the beneficial character of the Church more continually and more splendidly exercised than in redeeming captives from servitude." * * *

"St. Augustine, St. Gregory the Great, St. Cæsarius of Arles, St. Exuperius of Toulouse, St. Hilary, St. Remy, all melted down or sold their church vessels to free

prisoners. St. Cyprian sent a large sum for the same purpose to the Bishop of Nicomedia. St. Epiphanus and St. Avitus, in conjunction with a rich Gaulish lady named Syagria, are said to have rescued thousands. St. Eloi devoted to this object his entire fortune. St. Paulinus of Nola, displayed a similar generosity. * * When, long afterward, the Mohammedan conquests in a measure reproduced the calamities of the barbarian invasions, the same unwearied charity was displayed. The Trinitarian monks, founded by St. John of Matha, in the twelfth century, were devoted to the release of Christian captives, and another society (Our Lady of Mercy) was founded with the same object in view by St. Peter Nolasco, in the following century."

Lecky's History of European Morals. Vol. II. Chap. 4, (pp. 72-3) Ed. of D. Appleton & Co., 1877.

Before the Reformation came, she [the Church] had enfranchised almost all the bondsmen in the Kingdom [England].

Macaulay's History of England, Vol. I. pp. 33.

"The feudal system was an atomic condition of political society. In this state of things, the Church, through its hierarchical organization under one chief, did a beneficent work for civilization, by fusing the peoples, as far as its influence went, into a single community and subjecting them to a uniform condition. The mediæval papacy, whatever evils may have been connected with it, saved Europe from anarchy and lawlessness."

History of the Reformation. By George P. Fisher D. D., Prof. of Eccl. Hist. in Yale College. Chap. 2, pp. 32. Ed. of Chas. Scribner & Sons, 1883.

"The Church of the Middle Ages I do not consider a mitigated evil, but an incalculable benefit to society. * * * Even the papacy, as is shown, was in the mediæval period in many respects a beneficial institution."

Fisher's History of the Reformation. Prefatory Note to 2d Edition, 1883.

"THE MONKS OF OLD."

WHATEVER view may now obtain respecting monasteries, there can be no doubt that "the monks of old" enjoyed the average good opinion of their age. In times of violence the monastery lands were held inviolate; the monk traveled without retinue. The avarice of the half pagan nobility led to the suppression and spoliation of the rich monasteries at the time of the Reformation. But popular favor was still on the side of the monks. When Henry VIII. sought to stamp out the abbeys of England, all of the northern counties rose in rebellion.

What are now called "the extinct virtues,"—voluntary poverty, chastity, and obedience—were the monastic vows chiefly insisted upon until the sixth century. Then St. Benedict added the requirement

of manual labor, and among the rocks of Subiaco, forty miles from Rome, the foundations were laid for the monasticism of history.

1. The old monastic maxim which Carlyle so much admired: "labor is prayer," naturally yielded marked results. The monks improved the rude agricultural science of their age, bringing to their tasks in the field the keenness of study and contemplation. Immense tracts of land in the Hercynean woods, in the morasses of Holland, in the forests of Burgundy, and the fens of Lincolnshire, were caused to bloom as a garden by their labor. The most populous country in Europe to-day, stretches between St. Omers and Liege. It was formerly a marsh, transformed by cowled and hooded tillers.

2. Cities and centers of population grew up about the fortresses of industry and peace established by monks. Under the shadow of the abbey, the husbandman was free from feudal rapacity. The etymology

of such place-names as Munich is sufficiently significant.

3. The poor and weak were the especial solicitude of the mediæval monasteries. England's "poor laws" date from the suppression of the abbeys. Prior to that time, this social burden and duty was discharged by organized church agencies. "The monks," says Edmund Burke, "were the sole channel through which the bounty of the rich could reach the poor in any continued stream, and the people turned their eyes towards them in all distresses."

4. In times of barbarous forays, feudal warfare and social violence, the peaceful, contemplative and religious mind naturally sought a retreat for safety and kindred association. Weariness and adversity also craved a refuge. In this respect, monasteries were an inevitable product of the age.

"O father abbot," says Wolsey in Shakespeare's play,

> "An old man broken by the storms of state
> Is come to lay his weary bones among you;
> Give him a little earth, for charity."

5. Some of the "great books" of the world were written in these mediæval retreats. "The Imitation of Christ" and the "Spiritual Combat," breathe of the solemn stillness and interior peace of monastery life. Our world may aspire to, but it can never quite realize, the contemplative spirit of those works.

6. The literature of antiquity was safely stored away in the monasteries until the period of the Renaissance. It was the labor of years to multiply the classical authors, but even in an age of manuscript books, rich libraries appertained to many abbeys. The thirty-two thousand MSS. in the great library at Paris are almost entirely in monkish handwriting. The Bible was copied and illuminated, and the annals and chronicles of every country were for several centuries recorded solely by monks.

7. The schools of the middle ages were of monastic origin. The synods of the clergy and the capitularies of Charlemagne directed that schools should be opened in

connection with the abbeys. Free common schools were an invention of the monks. The universities were a natural outgrowth. That of Paris, although springing from a small monastery school, had 30,000 students in the time of Abelard. The majority of existing European universities date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

8. Quite naturally, minds educated in the monasteries began eventually to rule in the affairs of Church and State. Pope Gregory VII., called Hildebrand, came from the monastery of Cluny to work a great revolution in ecclesiastical polity. Peter the Hermit drew all Europe into the Crusades. Lanfranc, Roger Bacon, and Thomas Aquinas, exercised an influence of the most far-reaching character upon the thought and temper of their times.

9. Monopolizing the learning of the age, the monastery generally led the way in science and material progress. Alchemy, medicine, astronomy, geography and natural science were distinct tendencies of

monastic studies in the fifteenth century. The numerous inventions made by monks — clocks, gunpowder, etc., are easily recalled.

10. One is impressed with the necessity of organized forces in the work of civilization and Christianization, accomplished in the middle ages. There was an eternal fitness that the monasteries should undertake this mission. Fortresses of culture against barbarian invasions, they subsequently became centers from which missionaries issued forth to subjugate the world. A counter invasion was undertaken by surpliced monks in the very cradle of the Goths and Vandals. They penetrated Russia and Scandinavia, and built their outposts in Iceland and Greenland.

Abuses, of course, crept in. Worldly-minded abbots were installed by the secular arm. Great wealth carried its inevitable temptations, and religion was disfigured by barbarism. But the sum total was progress,

and the debt of society must be paid by a favorable and a liberal judgment.

"It is impossible to get even a superficial knowledge of the mediæval history of Europe, without seeing how greatly the world of that period was indebted to the monastic orders; and feeling that, whether they were good or bad in other matters, monasteries were beyond all price in those days of misrule and turbulence, as places where (it may be imperfectly, yet better than elsewhere) God was worshipped—as a quiet and religious refuge for helpless infancy and old age, a shelter of respectful sympathy for the orphan maiden and the desolate widow—as central points whence agriculture was to spread over bleak hills, and barren downs, and marshy plains, and deal bread to millions perishing with hunger and its pestilential train—as repositories of the learning which then was, and well-springs of the learning that was to be; as nurseries of art and science, giving the stimulus, the means, and the reward to

invention, and aggregating around them every head that could devise and every hand that could execute,—as the nucleus of the city which, in after days of pride, should crown its palaces and bulwarks with the towering cross of its cathedral."

Dr. Maitland. The Dark Ages, p. 2. John Hodges, Pub. London, 1890.

"But the most philosophical mode of viewing its [monachism's] relation to Christianity is to recognize that monachism has made a part of every creed which has attained a certain stage of ethical and theosophical development; that there is a class of minds for which it always has had a powerful attraction, and which can otherwise find no satisfaction; and consequently, that Christianity, if it is to make good its claim to be a universal religion, must provide expression for a principle which is as deeply seated in human nature as domesticity itself, albeit limited to a much smaller section of mankind."

Encyclopædia Britannica (9th Edition), XVI, 698.

* * "Here, again, the influence of the Church was exerted with unwavering beneficence and success. The fathers employed all their eloquence in favor of labor; but it is to the monks, and especially to the Benedictine monks, that the change is preëminently due. At a time when religious enthusiasm was directed towards the monastic life as towards the ideal of perfection, they made labor an essential part of their discipline. Wherever they went, they revived the traditions of old Roman agriculture, and large tracts of France and Belgium were drained and planted by their hands. The monks of the order of St. Basil devoted themselves especially to painting, and all the mediæval architects whose names have come down to us are said to have been ecclesiastics, till the rise of those great lay companies who designed or built the cathedrals of the twelfth century. A great number of the towns of Belgium trace their origin in this manner to the monks. * * * By these

means the contempt for labor which had been produced by slavery was corrected, and the path was open for the rise of the industrial classes which followed the crusades."

Lecky. Rationalism in Europe, Vol. 2, pp. 231-232.

"In France, the low countries and Germany they were preëminently agriculturists. Gigantic forests were felled, inhospitable marshes were reclaimed, barren plains cultivated by their hands. The monastery often became the nucleus of a city. It was the center of civilization and industry, the symbol of moral power in an age of turbulence and war.

Lecky, History of European Morals, Chapter 4.

THE PAPAL POWER.

I. HILDEBRAND.

THE Bishop of Rome was so much annoyed by Lombard free-booters, towards the middle of the eighth century that he called upon Pepin, the French king, to come over the Alps and establish peace. When Pepin subdued the Lombards he made the Pope sole ruler of Rome and the country near by.

This was a great advantage to the spiritual head of the Christian Church. It relieved him from the influence and annoyance of petty kings and princes. But the Papal office was not hereditary. The petty kings had an opportunity of stepping in at the death of the Pope and exercising considerable influence in selecting his successor. For their busy interference they claimed the privilege of appointing the

bishops in their neighborhoods, and controlling the religious patronage. If they happened, as they frequently did, to be avaricious persons, there were scandalous sales of the best bishoprics and other repulsive proceedings.

During the tenth century good men bitterly deplored the number of such abuses. Some of the Popes were appointed as the creatures of German emperors. Many important sees were filled by court favorites utterly unworthy for sacred offices.

The Church soon made a stupendous effort to free itself from such worldly vassalage. It found a wise and adroit Moses in the monk, Hildebrand. His first step was to advise the Pope to designate a college of cardinals, which should thereafter have the naming of Roman pontiffs. Later on, Hildebrand was himself chosen Pope, and took the name of Gregory VII.

A ceremony called the "investiture" of bishops, or the conferring upon them of the ring and crosier of their office by the

emperor, had grown to mean more than a mere ceremony. The substance went with it; the actual selection of the bishop was implied in his investiture. Henry IV. of Germany had been particularly insistent in his exercise of this prerogative. The Church was disgraced by the 'bishops' thus thrust upon her.

Gregory VII. cut the Gordian knot by abolishing the investiture and censuring any prince who kept it up.

The manner in which the barbarian emperor met this papal act illustrates his conception of the civil ruler's power. He called a meeting of his bishops and deposed Gregory from the papal office, not forgetting to set up one of his own court favorites in the former's place.

Gregory VII. saw that he must fight the devil with fire. His counterblast came at once (A. D. 1076) in a proclamation absolving the German people from allegiance to Henry. The ground taken was that the Emperor had broken his coronation oath.

That oath required him to protect the Church and respect his people's liberties. It happened that just then Henry was failing in both particulars. The act of Gregory met with a wonderful response. Everywhere the monks and friars denounced Henry as no longer fit to rule. The lords gathered and repudiated him. He was a king without a throne, and it became the highest policy on his part to repent.

This he did by a famous journey to Canossa. The Pope forgave him too easily, not discerning his purpose of revenge, for he subsequently drove Gregory from Rome, and the aged pontiff died in exile. But his spirit lived, and in the year 1122 the German emperor formally resigned the alleged right of "investiture."

Gregory deposed Henry in self-defense; some of Gregory's successors kept the war in Africa with the same object in view. A great contest with Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor of Germany, was ended in 1177.

The Papal authority won again. A few years afterwards King John of England asked the Pope to order the French king to give Normandy back to Britain,—implying that such an authority resided in the Roman See. Innocent III. did not do so, but he afterwards found occasion to declare John's throne forfeited, and to absolve the English from their allegiance.

II. THE DEPOSING POWER.

For two centuries following Hildebrand's struggle with Henry IV. it seems to have been the generally-received opinion that the Pope might depose sovereigns where such valid reasons existed as oppression of the people, heresy and vice. The precise basis of this opinion is not clear. Some regard it as a development of feudalism, the Pope being recognized as the suzerain of all the sovereigns of Christendom. As a matter of fact, many rulers, at different times, placed their dominions under the direction

of the Pope, or invoked the papal authority to recover their possessions. The deposing power may also have developed from a disposition to regard the Pope as the arbiter in disputes between Christian rulers. Still another view regards the deposing power as the received public law of the middle ages—from the fact that Kings and Emperors in order to reign lawfully had to profess the Catholic faith and be in communion with the Pope. Fenelon found a basis for the deposing power in the fact that the Pope was the final judge of all political contracts involving "allegiance." He, as the chief pastor of the Church, was bound, in disputed cases, to instruct people consulting him as to whether they were obliged to keep their oaths of fealty.

It seems clear that the deposing power of the Pope never was, and is not now, regarded as an article of Catholic faith. Pius the Ninth, in a sermon, quoted by Cardinal Soglia said: "No one now thinks any more

of the right of deposing princes, which the Holy See formerly exercised, and the supreme pontiff even less than any one."*

It was a species of international law which the events of history, religious and political upheavals, have practically abrogated. But while it was exercised, and during the ages when people recognized it, it undoubtedly served to promote liberty and to curb the cruelty and cupidity of sovereigns.

In our age the people do almost every year what the Popes did but rarely. The breed of kings has improved; there were numbers of mediæval monarchs who ought to have been deposed, but who were let alone. The Papal anathemas struck men like Henry IV. and John Lackland, who richly deserved the scaffold.

*Ferraris, *Papa*, quoted in Addis and Arnold's Catholic Dictionary.

III. MORAL CHARACTER OF THE POPES.

Of the two hundred and sixty Popes, seventy-nine have been canonized by the Catholic Church as saints, preëminent for their holiness.

Some of the remainder have been variously accused of immorality, political ambition and criminal intrigue. It is noteworthy that the characters of several thus accused have been vindicated by Protestant biographers. Voigt, in his Life of Gregory VII., Hurter's Innocent III., Eichhorn, Luden, Mueller, and Leopold Ranke, have cleared up much fiction and partisan tradition reflecting upon the moral character of a dozen Pontiffs.

An instance of the absurdity of some of these fables is found in the story of Pope Joan. A learned woman, disguised as a man, succeeded, so the narrative runs, in deceiving the churchmen and securing her own selection to the Roman See, which she occupied for nearly three years. This

story is traced back within two hundred years of the alleged date of the female Pope's pontificate. It is found wanting in a single element of authenticity, and no modern historian gives it any credence.*

The tenth century furnishes us the most certain instances of immoral or bad Popes. Society was then in a transitional state. Rome was described as the "hostelry of nations." The "bad popes" are variously estimated by Catholic writers as from six to twenty. "We have forty-three virtuous, to one bad pope," says Cardinal Gibbons (Faith of our Fathers, Chap. xi.), "while there was a Judas Iscariot among the twelve Apostles."

Writers like Leopold Ranke (History of the Popes) describe the Roman Pontiffs of the first ages and of later times (since the rise of Protestantism) as irreproachable in their moral character. Voigt (Gregory VII., Vol. II., 98,) says: "The Holy See

*See Baring Gould's "Myths of the Middle Ages."

was the only tribunal that could set any limits to imperial despotism as a second defender of humanity." Roscoe (Life of Leo X., Vol. I., 53,) says: "The Popes may in general be considered as superior to the age in which they lived."

" * * By the princes themselves was the head of the Church first called upon to decide weighty matters of state and to exert influence over the affairs of Europe. * * We cannot deny, on examining closely the wants of the situation and the spirit of those times, that it accomplished much good; that not seldom it protected the oppressed cause of justice. * * It seemed desirable and wholesome that even against the mightiest rulers one voice dared still to be raised alone for justice — a voice of which he should stand in awe; which he could not silence by mere force."

A Course of Lectures on Modern History, by Frederick Schlegel. Bohn's Popular Library, London, 1849. Lecture 6-7, p. 88.

"This doctrine, hostile as it might be to the independence of sovereigns, was often supported by the sovereigns themselves. Thus, when Richard I. was held in captivity by the emperor, his mother, Eleanor, repeatedly solicited the Pontiff to procure his liberation by the exercise of that authority which he possessed over all temporal princes. Thus, King John Lack-land (whose excesses afterwards provoked against himself the animadversion of the Church) invoked the aid of the same authority to recover Normandy from the King of France. At first, indeed, the Popes contented themselves with spiritual censures: but in an age when all notions of justice were modeled after the feudal jurisprudence, it was soon admitted that princes, by their disobedience, became traitors to God; that as traitors they ought to forfeit their kingdoms, the fees which they held of God; and that to pronounce such sentence, belonged to the Pontiff, vicegerent of Christ upon earth."

Lingard's History of England, Vol. III, of the 3d London Edition, p. 35, note.

"Hence, the high authority which Rome then exercised over kings and emperors, was grounded, first, on a political claim growing out of the circumstances which accompanied the revival of the western empire; and secondly, on the general opinion of that time respecting the subordination of the temporal to the spiritual power."

Schlegel, Philos. II., p. 137.

"When a pope or bishop proclaimed that a sovereign had lost his rights, that his subjects were released from their oath of fidelity, this interference, though undoubtedly liable to the greatest abuse, was often, in the particular case to which it was directed, just and salutary. It generally holds, indeed, that where liberty is wanting religion, in a great measure, supplies its place. In the tenth century the oppressed nations were not in a state to protect themselves or to defend their rights against

civil violence—religion, in the name of Heaven, placed itself between them."

Guizot. History of Civilization, Vol. I, Lecture 5, p. 124, 3d Am. Ed. (Hazlitt's Notes.)

"The influence of the Papal authority, though sometimes abused, was then felt as a blessing to mankind; it rescued Europe from total barbarism; it afforded the only asylum and refuge from feudal oppression."

Wheaton. History of the Laws of Nations, 33.

"In those 'dark' ages we see no example of tyranny comparable to that of the Domitians at Rome. A Tiberius was impossible then; Rome would have crushed him. Great despotisms exist when kings believe that there is nothing above themselves. Then it is that the intoxication of unlimited power produces the most fearful crimes."

Coquerel, Essai sur l' Hist. Generale du Christianisime, page 75.

"Hildebrand, sparing neither the bribed nor the bribers, incurred the inveterate odium of all the delinquents. Hildebrand

had no respect to persons or judgment. Sin levelled Emperors and beggars before him."

History of Normandy and England. Sir Francis Palgrave, Vol. I., p. 112.

"The mediæval papacy, whatever evils may have been connected with it, saved Europe from anarchy and lawlessness."

Fisher, History of the Reformation, Ch. II., p. 32.

"If the Papal power had not been adapted to the conditions of Europe, it could not have subsisted. It was the remedy for some of the greatest evils. We have to look to the Abyssinians and Oriental Christians, to see what Europe would have become without the Papacy. It was morally and intellectually the conservative power of Christendom. Politically, it was the Saviour of Europe. For, in all probability, the West, like the East, must have been overrun by Mohammedanism, and sank in irredeemable degradation if, in that great crisis of the world, the Church had not roused the nations to a united and prodigious

effort commensurate with the danger. In the frightful state of society which sometimes prevailed, the Church everywhere presented a controlling and remedial influence."

Southey.

"The Pontifical monarchy taught the nations and kings to regard themselves mutually as compatriots, as being both equally subject to the divine sceptre of religion; and this centre of religious unity has been throughout many ages a real benefit to the human race."

Robertson.

"In the midst of the conflicts of jurisdictions, the Pope alone proved to be the defender of the people, the only pacifier of great disturbances. The conduct of the Pontiffs inspired respect, as their beneficence merited gratitude."

Sismondi.

"If all would become Catholics and believe in the infallibility of the Pope, there would

not be required any other umpire than that of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. If the Popes resumed the authority which they had in the time of Nicholas the First, or Gregory the Seventh, it would be the means of obtaining perpetual peace and conducting us back to the golden age."

Liebnitz.

THE CRUSADES.

RELIGIOUS fervor and devotion were not the only causes of those onslaughts of united Europe against Mohammedan Asia — called the Crusades. The pretext was to protect the liberty and life of Christian pilgrims visiting Jerusalem; there was a continuous breach of international rights in this respect upon which any spirited modern nation would take up the sword. But the deep, underlying motive was apprehension of Christian Europe for its own safety.

"Mussulman impiety," said the contemporaneous Pope Urban II., "has overspread the fairest regions of Asia; Ephesus, Nice, and Antioch, have become Mohammedan cities; the barbarous hordes of the Turks have planted their colors on the very shores of the Hellespont, whence

they threaten war to all our states of Christendom. Unless you oppose a mighty barrier to their triumphant course, how can Europe be saved from invasion, how can the storm be averted, which has so long threatened to burst upon our countries?"*

With Christian civilization it was a war of self-preservation.

1. In this respect the Crusades were a notable success. Instead of waiting, as disunited states, to receive the blow of Mohammedan invasion, the nations of Europe "took time by the forelock," welded themselves into unity, and made the aggressive move themselves. The Saracens and Seljukians were beaten to the ground. The issue for supremacy was inevitable between the religion born at Galilee and that born at Mecca. Rome saw farthest ahead.

The first (A. D. 1090), fifth (A. D. 1201), and sixth (A. D. 1228) Crusades were the most important — at least in their results.

*Michaud, History of the Crusades. Vol. I.

In 1099 the first Crusaders captured Jerusalem and set up a Christian kingdom there which lasted eighty-eight years. In 1205 a Latin empire was established in place of the Greek empire at Constantinople, and the eastern schism appeared to be at an end. But this union of the eastern and western churches lasted only until 1261, when the Latin empire was overthrown. Jerusalem again came into the possession of the Christians by treaty in 1229 (as a result of the sixth crusade) but in 1242 the hordes of Jenghiz Khan again swept away the Christian dominion; nor did the subsequent Crusades ever get as far as the Holy City. The last, or ninth, Crusade went out A. D. 1270 under St. Louis, King of France. Nazareth was taken, but there the enterprise ended.

2. From the east, the returning Crusaders brought back new inventions, new fabrics like the silk manufacture, alchemy, the Arabic notation, and all the impetus to science and letters that came from contact

with Syria, Greece, and other strange lands. In the history of civilization this alone was sufficient to compensate for the blood and treasure expended in these movements.

3. The Crusades were a blow at feudalism, cutting off the petty nobility and securing more orderly government. Traveling became easier. The enfranchised boroughs and the free cities sprang up by reason of the Crusades.

4. The art of navigation was improved in the transport of armies. Nations built navies. The mariner's compass was brought into use.

5. And from this circumstance came the growth of commerce and the upbuilding of Venice, Genoa, Pisa and Florence, those great mediæval marts, whose trade with Asia and Africa was of world-wide note, and whose population of bankers and merchants laid the foundation of our modern commercial law as we read it.

Thus a movement undertaken in what to materialists seems a spirit of fanaticism

and superstition, justified itself even in their eyes by promoting Europe's material growth.

"The Crusades are not, in my mind, either the popular delusions that our cheap literature has determined them to be, nor Papal conspiracies against kings and peoples, as they appear to the Protestant controversialist. * * They were the first great effort of mediæval life to go beyond the pursuit of selfish and isolated ambition; they were the trial feat of the young world essaying to use, to the glory of God and the benefit of man, the arms of its new knighthood. * * That in the end they were a benefit to the world no one that reads can doubt; and that in their course they brought out a love for all that is heroic in human nature—the love of freedom, the honor of prowess, sympathy with sorrow, perseverance to the last, and patient endurance without hope, the chronicles of the age abundantly prove; proving moreover that it was by the

experience of those times that the former of these virtues were realized and presented to posterity."

Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History; p. 157. By Wm. Stubbs, D. D. Bishop of Chester, Regius Prof. of Modern History of Cambridge and Edinburgh. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1885.

"The principal effect, then, of the Crusades was a great step towards the emancipation of the mind, a great progress towards enlarged and liberal ideas. * * Such, in my opinion, are the real results of the Crusades—on the one hand extension of ideas and the emancipation of thought, on the other a general enlargement of the social sphere and the opening of a wider field for every sort of activity: they produced at the same time more individual freedom and more political unity."

Guizot's History of Civilization, Vol. I. Lect. 8.

"The effect of the Crusades was, nevertheless, a complete revolution in the manners and customs of the western nations: the suppression of servitude, the founding of

the free towns, the alienation and the division of the feudal laws and the development of the commercial system."

Military and Religious Life in the Middle Ages, by Paul La Croix, Curator of the Imperial Library of the Arsenal, Paris, (London, Chapman and Hall, 1874,) p. 134.

"They [the Crusades] failed, indeed, to establish the permanent dominion of Latin Christendom, whether in New Rome or Jerusalem, but they prolonged, for nearly four centuries, the life of the Eastern Empire, and by so doing they arrested the tide of Mohammedan conquests as effectually as it was arrested for Western Europe by Charles Martel on the plains of Tours."

Encyclopædia Britannica. (Ninth Ed. Article "Crusades" VI., 629.)

"The Crusades undoubtedly produced a powerful economic effect by transferring, in many cases, the possessions of the feudal chiefs to the industrious classes, whilst, by bringing different nations and races into contact, by enlarging the horizon and the conception of the populations, as by

affording special stimulus to navigation, they tended to give a new activity to international trade."

Encyclopædia Britannica. Ninth Ed., XIX, p. 352.

PREMATURE PROTESTANTISMS.

IT is worthy of remark that six of the earlier heresies in the history of the Church should have arisen respecting the divine persons of the Godhead. The Arians (325) taught that Christ was inferior to the other persons of the Trinity. The Macedonians (381) taught that the Holy Ghost was inferior. The Nestorians (431) taught that there were *two persons* (not two natures) in Christ. The Eutychians (451) taught that there was but *one nature* — the divine. The Monothelites (680) held that Christ had no human will. The Manichæans (280 —1215) taught that Christ did not assume a *real* human body, but merely appeared in one like the angels of the Old Testament.

The Pelagian heresy denied the doctrine of original sin. The Iconaclasts opposed sacred images. And the heresy of Beren-

garius (1078) denied the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

During the latter middle ages the most famous heresies were those of the Albigenses and Waldenses, condemned by the council of Lateran in 1179; and the teachings of Wycliffe and his disciple, Huss, condemned by the council of Constance in 1414.

These may be styled *premature Protestantisms*, from the fact that they expressed the religious unrest of their time. The Calvinists were proud to trace their ancestry to the Waldenses; and Wycliffe is sometimes styled the prototype of English Protestantism.

The Albigenses were so styled after Albi, a town in southern France, where the sect became numerous about 1200. Pope Innocent III. sent Peter, of Chateau-neuf, and three other monks to convert them; but they murdered Peter and terrified his followers. Count Raymond of Toulouse sided with them, and they carried things

with a high hand. The murder of the Pope's legate was the occasion of a crusade against Toulouse and Albi, led by Simon of Montfort, at the head of a French army. The war lasted from 1209 to 1227, and finally drifted from a religious to a political contest. The Albigenses were utterly crushed.

Respecting the nature of the Albigensian teachings, contemporary writers agree in connecting them with the Manichæans.

This, too, is Bossuet's opinion. Hallam and Mosheim substantially coincide with him. Identification with Manichæism is regarded as a damning indictment against the Albigenses. The judicial records of the middle ages are full of the blackest crimes attributed to this sinuous and surreptitious sect.

Mani, a Persian teacher of the third century, compounded Paganism and Christianity into a system of doctrines, which persisted through the centuries in various forms and under various names. One

author counts over seventy Manichæan sects.

The popular and legal dislike towards the Manichæans was due, not so much to their theological vagaries, as to their reputed immoralities. They were described as Mediæval Mormons. They inculcated devil-worship, denied the divinity of Christ, rejected the Old Testament, and repudiated the observance of Sunday.

Their midnight orgies, their hatred of marriage, their incests, fornications and suicides were the scandals of the middle ages. They united secrecy and hypocrisy as methods of covering their tracks.

In France, they were called, from their origin, Bulgarians; in some parts of Italy, Publicans, a corruption of the word Paulicians; in the provinces, where they were most numerous, Provincials, or, after 1208, Albigenses, from the town of Albi in Languedoc; in the Milanese Territory, Cathari, *i. e.*, the Pure, or Paterenes and Paterinians, a name which they had usurped

from the anti-simoniacal Catholic church party in Milan; in Belgium, Piphiler or Weavers, from the trade which the greater number of them followed, and sundry other names; but the generic term, Manichæans, was given to them universally, and was accepted by themselves in their disputations with Catholics.

The Albigenses held many of their doctrines, and rivaled them in many points of violence and debauchery. "I have seen on all sides," says Stephen, Abbot of St. Genevieve, describing to the King of France the condition of Albigensian Toulouse, "churches burned and ruined to their foundations; I have seen the dwellings of men changed into the dens of wild beasts."

The Waldenses, who were also termed Vaudois and Poor Men of Lyons, were followers of Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons. In 1160 Waldo, affected by the death of a fellow merchant, gave his property to the poor, and led a life of poverty.

In teaching that malefactors ought not to be condemned, but should be allowed to go at large,—after the manner of the tares described in the parable,—the Waldenses came into conflict with the civil power. They denounced oaths as sinful, and advocated Communism. The Mass and Purgatory were eliminated from their religion. They thought the clergy ought to hold no property. Ultimately some of them drifted into the immoral and pagan customs of the Albigenses. The fact that they existed about the time and in the neighborhood of the Albigenses, has led to their being confused with these more unworthy sectaries.

The heresies of Wycliffe (1324-84) and John Huss (1375-1414) bore fruits in the Lollards of England and the Bohemian Brethren of Prague. Henry V. put down the former on the charge of conspiracy, and the Bohemian Brethren, after a bloody civil war, expired of inanition.

Wycliffe continued a priest of the Catholic Church to the time of his death. His divergence from Catholic teaching had reference to the supremacy of the Pope in spiritual matters, which he partly controverted, and to certain regulations respecting the authority of Bishops over priests. He seems to have recanted his views prior to his death.

Huss followed Wycliffe in most points, but was more violent in his methods. He attended the Council of Constance under a safe conduct from the Emperor Sigismund. The Council condemned his teachings as heretical, and heresy being at that time a violation of the civil as well as of the ecclesiastical law, the secular arm took hold of Huss after the Council had got through with him. He was burned at the stake July, 1414.

"The tenets ascribed to them [the Albigenses] by all contemporary authorities coincide so remarkably with those held

by the Paulicians, and in earlier times by the Manichæans, that I do not see how we can reasonably deny what is confirmed by separate and uncontradicted testimonies, and contains no intrinsic want of probability."

Hallam's View of the Middle Ages, Ch. IX. part II. (p. 359, Vol. III. New York, W. J. Widdleton, Pub., 1877.)

"The descent of the Albigenses may be traced with tolerable distinctness from the Paulicians, a sect that sprang into existence in the Eastern Church during the sixth century. The Paulicians were agnostics and were accused by their enemies and persecutors of holding Manichæan doctrines which, it is said, they vehemently disowned. Their creed, whatever it may have been precisely, spread gradually westward through Europe. In the ninth century it found many adherents in Bulgaria, and three hundred years later it was maintained and defended, though not without important modifications, by the

Albigenses in the south of France. * * They [the Albigenses] inherited and used, as has already been said, certain doctrines of eastern origin, such as the Manichæan dualism, diocetism in relation to the persons of Christ, and a theory of metempsychosis. They seem, like the Manichæans, to have disowned the authority of the old Testament; and the division of their adherents into the *perfecti* and *credentes* is similar to the Manichæan distinction between *electi* and *auditori*."

Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. I., 454.

"Western Manichæism, however, though it adhered only to the broader principles of Orientalism, the two co-equal conflicting principles of good and evil, the eternity of matter, and its implacable hostility to spirit, aversion to the Old Testament as the work of the wicked Demiurge, the unreality of the suffering Christ, was, or became, more Manichæan than its Grecian parent, Paulicianism. * * Western Manichæism is

but dimly to be detected in the eleventh century. * * But in the twelfth century Manichæism is rampant, bold, undisguised. Everywhere are Puritans, Paterines, Populars, suspected, or convicted, or confessed Manichæans. * * *

The chief seat of these opinions was in the south of France. * * Their religion was chivalry, but chivalry becoming less and less religious; the mistress had become the saint, the casuistry of the Court of Love superseded that of the confessional. There had grown up a gay license of manners not adverse only to the austerity of monkish Christianity but to pure Christian morals."

History of Latin Christianity, (Vol. V., Ch. viii, p. 159-63.) By Henry Hart Milman. New York. Sheldon & Co., 1861.

"In a short time the Albigenses had congregations with schools and charitable institutions of their own. Then they drove away the Roman Catholic priests from the churches, took possession of the buildings,

and elected their own priests and bishops. * * This state of things caused, of course, great alarm at Rome."

The Schaff-Herzog Dictionary. Vol. I. Article on Albigenses.

BIBLES BEFORE LUTHER.

IT is ascertained that at least twenty-two versions, or different translations, of the Bible existed in the various tongues of Europe before the time of Luther. Over seventy editions of the entire Bible in vernacular tongues were printed during the seventy years intervening from 1460 to 1530. The Bible was printed twenty times in the German language before Luther's translation appeared (1530).

Two copies of a German Bible, printed in 1466, are preserved in the Senatorial library at Leipsic. The Mazarin Bible is considered the earliest complete book published. It was printed in Latin about 1455.*

A German edition of the Bible, published in 1460, is the earliest book printed with metal type and on both sides of the leaf.

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*Hallam's Lit. of Europe, I., 96.

Rev. Dr. Maitland, a learned divine of the Church of England, estimates that fifty Latin editions of the Bible were published before Luther was born. "To say nothing of parts of the Bible or of books whose place is uncertain, we know of a least twenty editions of the whole Latin Bible printed in Germany alone before Luther was born."*

Sickendorf, a biographer and disciple of Luther, mentions three German editions of the Bible, published at Wittenberg in 1470, 1483 and 1490.†

Menzel, in his history of Germany, says: "Before the time of Luther the Bible had already been translated and printed in both High and Low Dutch."‡

Throughout the middle ages the Bible was the great popular book of Europe. Dr. Maitland says that the very literature

*Dr. Maitland, "The Dark Ages," p. 469.

†Commentaries on Luther, Libr. I. Sec. 51.

‡Menzel, Vol. II., p. 223.

of the time is written in the words and phrases of Scripture.

Fragments of Bishop Uphilas' Scriptural translation, written in the fourth century, are our oldest specimens of the Gothic tongue. The Venerable Bede and King Alfred both contributed Anglo-Saxon translations of parts of the Bible. In the fourteenth century John de Trevisa made a full English translation.

The Protestant biblical scholar, Bishop Usher, states that the first French translation of the Bible was made in 1478. It was successively republished sixteen times before 1546. A Flemish translation by Merland, in 1210, is also mentioned by Usher. Seven editions of this version were printed before Luther's translation appeared.

The complete Bible in Spanish was edited by Boniface Ferrer, in 1405. The Spaniards are to be credited, too, with the first polyglot edition of the Sacred Scriptures. This edition was printed in

six different languages at Madrid, in 1515, under the auspices of Cardinal Ximenes. Italian translations of the Bible were common throughout the middle ages and numerous editions were printed at Venice, Florence, Naples, and Rome prior to Luther's time. A Bohemian Bible was published at Prague in 1488. There are Danish authorities who state that the Icelanders had an entire translation of the Scriptures in the thirteenth century.

Dr. Maitland says: "To say nothing of parts of the Bible, or of books whose place is uncertain, we know of at least twenty different editions of the whole Latin Bible printed in Germany only, before Luther was born." * * Before Luther was born the Bible had been printed in Rome, Naples, Florence, and Placenza, and Venice alone had furnished eleven editions."

Dr. Maitland, "The Dark Age," p. 469.

Reuss says: "No book was so frequently published, immediately after the

first invention of printing, as the Latin Bible, more than one hundred editions of it being struck off before the year 1520."

Hallam, says: "In the eighth and ninth centuries, when the vulgate had ceased to be generally intelligible, there is no reason to suspect any intention in the Church to deprive the laity of the Scriptures. Translations were freely made into the vernacular languages, and, perhaps, read in churches. * * * Louis the Debonair is said to have caused a German version of the New Testament to be made. Otfrid, in the same century, rendered the gospels, or, rather, abridged them, into German verse. This work is still extant."

Hallam, in his "Middle Ages," Chap. IX., Part II.

"The first German printed Bible, bearing the arms of Frederick III., issued from the Mainz press in 1462. In 1462, Faust published a Bible commonly called the Mentz Bible."

Hallam's Introd. to Literature, Part I., Lecture 3.

Another version appeared in 1466, two copies of which are still preserved in the Senatorial library at Leipsic. Other versions were published rapidly.

In 1877 Mr. H. Stevens published, at South Kensington, a "List of Bibles in the Caxton Exhibition." He says: "This catalogue will be very useful for one thing at any rate, as disproving the popular fable about Luther's *finding* the Bible for the first time at Erfurt about 1507. Not only are there many editions of the Latin Vulgate long anterior to that time, but there were actually nine German editions of the Bible in the Caxton exhibition earlier than 1483, the year of Luther's birth, and at least three more before the end of the century."

"Before Luther was born the Bible had been printed in Rome, and the printers had the assurance to memorialize his Holiness, praying that he would help them off with some copies. It had been printed, too, at Naples, Florence, and Placenza; and

Venice alone had furnished eleven editions. No doubt, we should be within the truth if we were to say that beside the multitude of manuscript copies, not yet fallen into disuse, the press had issued fifty different editions of the whole Latin Bible; to say nothing of Psalters, New Testaments, or other parts. And yet, more than twenty years after, we find a young man who had received "a very liberal education," who "had made great proficiency in his studies at Madgeburg, Eisenbach, and Erfurt," and who, nevertheless, did not know what a Bible was, simply because "the Bible was unknown in those days." [This refers to the absurd story—as told by D'Aubigne,—of Luther "discovering" a Bible for the first time, when he was twenty years old.]

Dr. Maitland, "The Dark Ages," p. 506.

"To come, however, to the question—did people in the Dark Ages know anything of the Bible? Certainly, it was not as commonly known and as generally in the

hands of men as it is now, and has been almost ever since the invention of printing — the reader must not suspect me of wishing to maintain any such absurd opinion; but I do think that there is sufficient evidence—(1.) that during that period the Scriptures were more accessible to those who could use them—(2.) were, in fact, more used — and (3.) by a greater number of persons — than some modern writers would lead us to suppose."

Dr. Maitland, "The Dark Ages," p. 220.

THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING.

THERE was a gradual recovery from barbarism and disorder all throughout the middle ages; but the epoch usually referred to as that of the "Revival of Learning," comes towards the close of mediæval history. What had been going on at a slow pace during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries then broke into a canter and a gallop; and the rapidity with which new things came into use—inventions crowding in upon each other, commerce broadening into discovery, and the material comforts of the people vastly improving—tended to make the people feel a new strength, and take a more cheerful view of life.

Although "the horologue of Time does not peal out the passage from one era to another," the epoch of the Revival may be

said to date from the invention of printing in 1440. It culminated about the end of the century, in what was termed "the Golden Age" of Pope Leo X. Leo was one of the Medici, a Florentine family, justly famed for its patronage of the arts.

"Then sculpture and her sister arts revived,
Stones leaped to form and rocks began to live,
With sweeter notes each rising temple rang,
A Raphael painted and a Vida sang."

The manifestations of the epoch were in its literature, its discoveries, and its political and material advances.

The nations began to develop their vernaculars. Poetry and history were written in other tongues besides the scholastic Latin. England had her Chaucer and Italy her Petrarch. Vigorous German, elegant French, and sonorous Spanish were rounded and polished into literature.

The rise of free cities, the development of commerce, the Hanseatic league, and the

spread of the Italian banking system became avenues of great activity.

Marco Polo, the famous Venetian navigator, had daring competitors in Bartholomew Dias and Vasco da Gama. They rounded the Cape of Good Hope and planted European outposts in the Indies. Finally Columbus comes with his discovery of a new world,—1492—year of the greatest event in the Christian era.

The cannon booming at the siege of Constantinople, in 1453, was a clear and emphatic announcement to the world that the age of gunpowder was at hand.

1. The fall of that city, then the capital of Greek culture, sent scores of learned refugees into Italy, Germany and France, where they were received with open arms and installed as teachers in the universites.

2. This, and the invention of printing —an almost contemporaneous occurrence— are considered the two great causes of the revival of learning.

The Greeks roused a new interest in

classical study, simultaneously with a new interest in scientific study, caused by the Arabs and Moors. The literature of every country felt the impulse of this awakened converse. It was a "new birth" to letters, and the epoch has been fitly so-called:—the "Renaissance."

As for printing, it is easy to imagine its vast importance. It went into immediate and universal use. The Bible was in type A. D., 1455. Pamphlets, political screeds, satires, lampoons, caricatures, and popular songs were sent into circulation by the thousands. Letters were brought down to the masses.

We may properly add as other and more remote causes of the revival:

3. The Crusades, which, the more they are studied, the more drastic does their influence on European civilization appear.

4. The great universities, founded in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, under the fostering care of the Church, now efflorescing under the ray of

reflected light let in from the East, stored with the intellectual energies of the preceding ages and conserving the libraries of Europe.

The larger number of the great universities of modern Europe were established in the middle ages. Those of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Ferrara were in existence for a century or more prior to A. D. 1000. As to the age of the others, the following are the most generally accepted dates: Salamanca, 1200; Cambridge, 1280; Prague, 1358; Vienna, 1365; Ingolstadt, 1372; Leipsic, 1408; Louvain, 1425; Basle, 1469; Alcala, 1517.

Considering the population and condition of Europe at the time, fifteen universities was a generous allowance; and it hardly accords with the popular notion of the culture of those days that so great provision was required for higher education. This is especially true when we are informed that Oxford had a larger enrollment during the middle ages than it has had at any time since—some three thousand halls being

required for the convenience of students, and the attendance varying from 5,000 to 25,000. The eloquence of Abelard is said to have drawn nearly 30,000 students to the university of Paris, and they came from all parts of Europe. The re-conquest from barbarism must have been in an advanced stage when the mind of Europe created such emporiums of learning.

"This literary and artistic movement extended from the fourteenth, to the middle of the sixteenth century. It is variously styled the *Revival of Letters*, the age of *Humanism*, by the French term *Renaissance*, and the Italian *Rinascimento*. In the widest sense the *Renaissance* comprehends the revival of literature and art, the progress of philosophy and criticism, the discovery of the solar system by Copernicus and Galileo, the extinction of feudalism, the development of the great nationalities and languages of modern Europe, the emancipation of enslaved intelligence, the expansion and freedom of thought, the invention of the

printing press, the discovery and exploration of America and the East; in one word, all the progressive developments of the later middle ages. * * *

"The Renaissance was born in the Republic of Florence, under the patronage of the Medici family, and matured in Rome under the patronage of the Pope. From these two centers it spread all over Italy, France, Germany, Holland, and England. It ascended the papal throne with Nicholas V. (1447-55), the founder of the Vatican Library, and was nurtured by his successor, Pius II. (1458-64), Sixtus IV. (1471-84), who founded the Sistine Chapel, Julius II. (1513-13), who called Bramonte, Michæl Angelo and Raphael to Rome, and Leo X. (1503-22), who gave them the most liberal encouragement in their works of art. The Renaissance was the last great movement of history in which Italy and the Popes took the lead."

The Renaissance (Ch. II., pp. 9-10). By Philip Schaff, D. D., Prof. of Church History in Union Theological Seminary, N. Y. G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1891.

"The Renaissance must, indeed, be viewed mainly as an internal process whereby spiritual energies latent in the middle ages were developed into actuality and formed a mental habit for the modern world. The process began in Italy and gradually extended to the utmost bounds of Europe, producing similar results in every nation and establishing a common form of civilization."

Encyclopædia Britannica, Ninth Ed. Vol. 20, p.238.

"At Oxford, under Henry III., it is said there were 30,000 scholars,—an exaggeration which seems to imply that the real number was very great. A respectable writer asserts that there were fully 10,000 at Bologna about the same time. * * At the death of Charles VII. in 1453 it [the University of Paris] is said to have contained 25,000 students."

Hallam's View of the Middle Ages. Ch. IX. Part II. (New York. W. J. Widdleton, Publisher.) Vol. III., p. 399.

"The partial and short sighted view which

condemned the whole Renaissance movement as dangerous to faith and morals, cannot be considered as that of the Church. At this time, as throughout the whole of the middle ages, she showed herself to be the patroness of all wholesome, intellectual progress, the protectress of all true culture and civilization."

History of the Popes (since the close of the Middle Ages.) By Dr. Ludwig Pastor, Prof. of History in the University of Innsbruck. Vol. I., p. 54. London, John Hodges, Pub. 1891.

INDULGENCES.

THE word "indulgence," according to Webster, is derived from the Latin verb *indulgere*, "to be kind or tender to one." He defines an indulgence to be: "Remission of the temporal punishment due to sins, granted by the Pope or Church, and supposed to save the sinner from purgatory; absolution from the censures and public penances of the Church."

This, though slightly inaccurate, does not differ greatly from the definition given by Catholics themselves in their catechisms and by their recognized authorities, both before and after the time of the Protestant Reformation. As a definition, however, it may not prove so clear and comprehensive as the average reader would desire. Indulgences have played a part in history, and it is quite

important to obtain a right grasp of their nature and object.

We clear the ground for this right understanding by stating what indulgences are *not*. They are not licenses to commit sin; neither are they pardons for sins already committed. Having disposed of these misapprehensions, we may take up Webster's definition and examine its terms.

An indulgence is a remission granted by the Pope or Church "of the temporal punishments due to sin,"— a discharge or pardon from some kind of punishment which would otherwise have to be endured.

But what is meant by "temporal punishment due to sin"? In the Bible (3 Kings xii. 13-14), the Prophet Nathan says to David: "The Lord also has taken away thy sin; nevertheless, because thou hast given occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, for this thing the child that is born of thee shall surely die." Though the eternal guilt of David's sin was forgiven, the temporal punishment was

still to be expiated. The church imposed penances upon its repentant children as a commutation of the temporal punishment due sin. Among the early Christians, severe penances were imposed on those of the faithful who confessed to grievous sins. Violation of the Sabbath day, by any servile work, for instance, was punished by three days on bread and water. Perjury was punishable by the sinner being obliged to sell all his goods and give the proceeds to the poor. In the course of time, it became a more general practice to remit these severe penances upon the penitent complying with certain conditions, such as prayer and almsgiving; and this mitigation or remission was regarded an *indulgence* on the part of the Church.

It never was the teaching of the Church, nor the belief of the Christians in any age, that an indulgence was a forgiveness of sin, much less a license to commit sin.

Luther, when he attacked the alleged traffic in indulgences, did not question the

right of the Church to grant them, nor did he say that they were not of great spiritual value.* It was somewhat later in his career that he came out against the whole theory of indulgences; it was not until he struck at other Catholic teachings, such as Papal Supremacy, priestly celibacy, and the necessity of good works for salvation.

Prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, together with confession and repentance, were the conditions prescribed in the famous bull of Leo X., proclaiming an indulgence. Even D'Aubigné says: "In the Pope's bull something was said of repentance of the heart and confession of the lips."†

*He did not as yet impugn the doctrine of indulgences itself, and he expressed his conviction that their good father, the Pope, must be altogether unaware of the extent to which such abuses [sale of indulgences] were allowed to prevail."—Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. xx., p. 326.

†Vol. i., p. 214.

Pope Leo X. desired to use the alms thus contributed in completing St. Peter's Cathedral at Rome, than which

> "What could be
> Of earthly structures in His honor piled
> Of sublimer aspect? Majesty,
> Power, glory, strength and beauty, all are aisled
> In this eternal ark of worship undefiled."

John Tetzel, a Dominican friar, was commissioned by the Archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg to preach the indulgence in Germany. Luther, an Augustinian friar, was moved to denounce Tetzel's methods and to point out his mistakes. At first the conflict seemed to be merely a "monkish quarrel."

As to what Tetzel's mistakes were, there is a mass of controversy. It was charged that his way of presenting the advantages of indulgences to the people partook of the nature of a sale. Still, D'Aubigne, an ultra Protestant historian, tells us that "the hand that delivered the indulgence could not receive the money,— that was forbidden

under the severest penalties." Confession and repentance were always made prerequisites.

But the very payment of money as a part of a religious duty, whether for alms or for practical good works, could quite easily take on the appearance of a purchase. Especially would this be the case if the other and more essential requirements, such as true sorrow, humble confession and full reparation, were slurred over and the most stress laid upon almsgiving.

An eminent Catholic authority (Cardinal Gibbons in his "Faith of our Fathers," page 393), says: "Tetzel's conduct was disavowed and condemned by the representative of the Holy See. The Council of Trent, which was held some time afterwards, took effectual measures to put a stop to all irregularities regarding Indulgences, and issued the following decree: "Wishing to correct and amend the abuses which have crept into them, and on occasion of which, this signal

name of Indulgences is blasphemed by heretics, the holy Synod enjoins in general, by the present decree, that all wicked traffic for obtaining them, which has been the fruitful source of many abuses among the Christian people, should be wholly abolished."*

The following definitions of indulgences are taken from popular books of instruction that were current in Germany at the end of the fifteenth, and the beginning of the sixteenth century:

The Seelenfuehrer says: "Know ye, that indulgence does not forgive your sins, but only remits the punishment which you have deserved. Know ye, that you can obtain no indulgence when you are in sin, and have not confessed and truly repented, and really determined to improve your life; for otherwise all is to no purpose."

The Summa Johannis, of the year 1480, declares that "only he who sincerely repents

* Sess. xxv., Dec. de Indulgentiis.

of his sins can gain the indulgence . . . if the man be in a state of mortal sin he can not gain the indulgence, for it is not given to sinners."

"To those who said that indulgence was forgiveness of sins for money, and therefore that it could be bought," the explanation of the Articles of the Creed (A. D. 1486), remarks: "That it was a question of the praise and honor of God, and not of the collection of money."

Again, "the indulgence is not given to those who simply contribute to the building of churches, unless they are in a state of grace, and give out of piety, in true faith, with great confidence in the communion of Saints, and their merits, in whose honor and praise the churches are built, and with special confidence in the mercy and help of God."

Janssen, History of the German People, Vol. I, pp. 41-2.

For a full and scholarly review of the documentary aspects of the indulgence of

1517 the reader is referred to Janssen's "History of the German People," and especially to the fourteenth letter in his "*An Mein Kritiker*" (To my Critics) (Freiburg, 1882.) The bull proclaiming the indulgence and the instructions to the preachers of the indulgence throughout Germany are quoted to show that confession, sincere repentance, and fasting were conditions to be insisted upon with much emphasis from all who sought the indulgence. Even Tetzel, in his anti-theses, directed against Luther's theses, is quoted as explaining that no indulgence can be gained except by sincere repentance and confession. No alms were to be demanded; contributions were to be voluntary. "That in spite of the strict regulations of the instructions to the preachers of the indulgence, grievous abuses occurred, I have," says Janssen, "set forth in my history (vol. ii, p. 77)." All the documents of the case have been gathered by Kapp, a Lutheran

authority (Leipsic, 1721), and Janssen's citations are to Kapp's collection.

The Council of Trent asserts that the power of conferring indulgences was given by Christ to the Church; that she has always used this power; that the use of indulgences, as being the most salutary, is to be retained in the Church; that those are condemned by the Council who say that the Church has no power of granting them. In granting them, moderation is to be observed, lest Church discipline be enervated. Abuses are to be reformed. All evil gains are to be abolished. Other abuses, that cannot be specially prohibited, are to be reported in the Provincial Synod by the Bishop, reviewed by the other Bishops in the Synod, and referred to the Pope, "that thus the gift of the holy indulgences may be dispensed to all the faithful, piously, holily, and incorruptibly."

Session xxv, Ch. 21, Waterworth's Translation, p. 277.

"It is decreed that these heavenly

treasures of the Church are administered not for gain but for godliness."

Sessions xxi, Chap. 9.

The learned Cardinal Wiseman, in a pastoral letter, says: "Many persons will be inclined to incredulity when I tell them that an indulgence is no pardon for sin of any sort, past, present, or future. It is no more than a remission by the Church, in virtue of the keys, of a portion, or the entire, of the temporal punishment due to sin."

Cardinal Wiseman, London Tablet, June 17, 1854.

"The word indulgence originally signified favor, remission, or forgiveness. Now it is commonly used in the sense of unlawful gratification, and of free scope to the passions. Hence, when some ignorant or prejudiced persons hear of the Church granting an indulgence, the idea of license to sin is at once presented to their minds.

An indulgence is simply a remission, in

whole or in part, through the superabundant merits of Jesus Christ and His Saints, of the temporal punishment due to God on account of sin, after the guilt and eternal punishment have been remitted.

It should be borne in mind that, even after our guilt is removed, there often remains some punishment to be undergone, either in this life or in the next, as an expiation to divine sanctity and justice."

"Faith of Our Fathers," Cardinal Gibbons, pp. 384-85.

"An indulgence is a remission of temporal punishment due to sin after the sin itself has been remitted, granted outside the sacrament of penance. In the sacrament of penance the temporal punishment is commuted into a lighter penance; by indulgence it is remitted; not simply, however, but by the application of the satisfactions of Christ and of the saints entrusted to the Church's keeping. * * Indulgences are salutary, not only because

they remit temporal punishment due to sin, but also because they encourage sinners to become reconciled to God, and promote the frequentation of the sacraments and the practice of good works. If, at times, almsgiving is prescribed as a condition for gaining an indulgence, the indulgence is in that case no more purchased for money than heaven is purchased by any other alms given with a view to eternal salvation."

Handbook of Christian Religion. Rev. W. Wilmers, S. J., N. Y. Benziger Bros., Pub., 1891; pp. 360-62.

"Indulgence in Roman Catholic theology is defined as the remission, in whole or in part, by ecclesiastical authority, to the penitent sinner of the temporal punishment due for sin.

* * "It must carefully be borne in mind that in Roman Catholic orthodoxy indulgence is never absolutely gratuitous, and that those only can, in any circumstances, validly receive it who are in full communion with the Church, and have resorted to the

sacrament of penance, in which alone, after due contrition and confession, provision is made for the graver penalty of sin."

Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. xii., pp. 846-47.

THE CAUSE AND SUCCESS OF PROTESTANTISM.

CAUSE and pretext are two different things. The occasion for the outbreak of Lutheranism in Germany was the method pursued by Tetzel and other monks in the preaching and granting of indulgences. As well might we attribute the American revolution to the destruction of the gunpowder stored at Lexington and Concord,

> "Where the embattled farmer stood
> And fired the shot heard round the world,"

as to make Tetzel's extravagance and abuse the cause of the Protestant revolution. The Lexington gun set in motion multiform and latent causes that reached back for a generation. The fight on indulgences broadened into a clash of authority that swept into its current causes existing for centuries.

These causes existed from the beginning of the Christian era, and they exist to-day. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they expressed themselves in the heresies of Berengarius, the Albigenses, Peter Waldo, Huss, and Wycliffe. They have since continued to operate with Protestantism, splitting it up into numbers of warring sects, by means of local and provincial reformation-moves, such as the Methodist secession from the Church of England.

The Protestant Reformation, in fact, does not differ in cause from the great heresies which preceded it. All had their source in the tendency of the human mind to set private judgment above established authority, whether in religion, law, or letters.

The time was not ripe for a successful revolution when Wycliffe wrote, or when Berengarius preached; or these men lacked Luther's alternate cunning and boldness; or they failed to lay hold of the means and

methods of success which he eagerly grasped. Here was the difference: it was not in cause, it was merely in circumstance and success.

The moral and material condition of the Church was not bad at the epoch Luther appeared. It was worse a century earlier — at the time of the "great schism." The circumstances of the Lutheran movement, which made it a successful revolution, may be briefly stated as follows:

1. It everywhere sought the protection and support of Princes. The Emperor Maximilian, Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and Phillip of Hesse were Luther's steadfast friends. In the first instance, they favored him because of their dislike of the Papal power. Afterwards he made it their interest to join forces with him. He flattered their power. He taught that they were rulers by divine right, and that unquestioning obedience was the religious duty of the subject. He made them the arbiters on ecclesiastical questions. A

church subservient and accommodating to the civil power was exceedingly agreeable to potentates whose absolutism had always been, more or less, interfered with by bishops and Popes. In Sweden, Gustavus Vasa patronized the Reformation; in Denmark, Christian II.; in England, Henry VIII., for a time, and Elizabeth; in France, the Court of Navarre and the Prince of Conde; in the Netherlands, William of Orange.

2. It utilized the rich lands and treasures of the monasteries with astute policy. To the kings, electors and petty princes the reformers virtually said: "Embrace our cause and we will give you the wealth of the monasteries and the churches. It will pay you well. It will fill your coffers, and the new religion will put a salve upon your consciences by calling this expedition of plunder a new crusade — a stroke against the minions of Satan and the disciples of anti-Christ." The bait to avarice worked powerful conversions; the adhesion of

princes to the new creed being followed by a public profession of faith by way of a raid on the convents. The Elector of Saxony filled his sideboard with vessels taken from the sacristies of churches. Luther remarked with shrewd humor: "The ostensories of the churches made many converts to the new gospel." Gustavus Vasa, in Sweden, Christian of Denmark, and Henry VIII. of England, made the suppression of the monasteries the first act in the drama of the Reformation.

After the wealth of the Church had gone to the kings and princes, and through them to the court favorites, the reformers could sagely say: "Our fortunes and yours are inseparable. If we fall, you lose your new properties. You read your title to them through our teachings. Let the old religion reconquer and there will have to be restitution."

3. There is no doubt that the abolition of celibacy brought to the Protestant movement a great body of ex-monks who worked

for it with the zeal of men working for the gratification of desires, and their own salvation from social obloquy. The Teutonic knights went over in a body, on this principle. The vituperation and vigor of the new gospel came, in a large degree, from this following.

4. The art of printing was another, and, perhaps, a principal reason for the success, in 1517, of what had failed in the previous centuries. The reformers made instant and effective use of this means of sowing broadcast their views. They multiplied books, pamphlets, satires, burlesques, caricatures, and fiery appeals. These methods naturally moved the populace and won partisans.

"Where Protestantism was an idea only, as in France and Italy, it was crushed out by the Inquisition; where, in conjunction with political power, and sustained by ecclesiastical confiscation, it became a physical force, there it was lasting. It is not a pleasant view to take of the doctrinal

changes, to see that where the movements toward it were pure and unworldly, it failed; where it was seconded by territorial greed and political animosity, it succeeded."

Bishop Stubbs' Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History, p. 233.

"A king whose character may be best described by saying that he was despotism itself personified, unprincipled ministers, a rapacious aristocracy, a servile Parliament, such were the instruments by which England was delivered from the yoke of Rome. The work which had been begun by Henry, the murderer of his wives, was continued by Somerset, the murderer of his brother, and completed by Elizabeth, the murderer of her guest."

Macaulay's Essays. "Hallam."

"We cannot but remember that libels, scarcely less scandalous than those of Hebert, mummeries scarcely less absurd than those of Clootz, and crimes scarcely less atrocious than those of Marat, disgrace the early history of Protestantism."

Maaculay's Essays. "Burleigh."

"The 'Reformation from Popery' was completed in Elizabeth's reign. The history of this movement in Ireland, is, throughout, one of merciless persecution, of wholesale spoliation, and of murderous cruelty. The instruments by which it was accomplished were despotic monarchs, unprincipled ministers, a rapacious aristocracy, and venal and slavish parliaments. It sprung from brutal passion, was nurtured in selfish and corrupt policy, and was consummated in bloodshed and horrid crime. 'The work which had been begun by Henry, the murderer of his wives, was continued by Somerset, the murderer of his brother, and completed by Elizabeth, the murderer of her guest.' Such was the 'Reformation,' and such were its instruments; and the consequences which flowed from it, at least in Ireland, were of a kindred character for centuries to come."

Samuel Smiles, History of Ireland and the Irish People Under the Government of England.

"In Sweden the Reformation was established concurrently with the political revolution which placed Gustavus Vasa on the throne. It was, however, only too apparent that the patriot king was largely influenced by the expectation of replenishing his exhausted exchequer from the revenues of the Church, and, as in Germany and England, the assent of the nobility was gained by their admission to a considerable share in the confiscated property."

Encyclopædia Britannica, "Reformation." XX., 336.

"Whatever may be the bias of our minds as to the truth of Luther's doctrines, we should be very careful in considering the Reformation as a part of the history of mankind, not to be misled by the superficial and ungrounded representations which we sometimes find in modern writers, — like D'Aubigne, for example. Such is this, that Luther, struck by the absurdity of the prevailing superstitions, was desirous of introducing a more rational system of

religion; or, that he contended for freedom of inquiry, and the boundless privileges of individual judgment; or, what others have been pleased to suggest, that his zeal for learning and ancient philosophy led him to attack the ignorance of the monks and the crafty policy of the Church, which withstood all liberal studies. These notions are merely fallacious refinements, as every man of plain understanding — excepting, perhaps, D'Aubigne — who is acquainted with the writings of the early reformers, or who has considered their history, must acknowledge."

Hallam, Hist. of Literature, Vol. I, p. 165.

CHARACTER OF THE REFORMERS.

LUTHER and Melanchthon were the leaders of Protestantism in Germany, Calvin and Zwinglius in France and Switzerland, and John Knox in Scotland. In England and Sweden the monarchs, Henry VIII. and Gustavus Vasa, were the reformers.

Luther was a man of force, audacity and great power of expression. He is criticised for his violence, his cunning, and his roystering. Melanchthon was the scholar of the Reformation, and the gentleman, too, perhaps. Beyond the charge of wavering in his doctrines and frequently changing his views, he is the least assailed of any of the reformers. Calvin was the master of a polished and logical style. His character was gloomy, revengeful, and despotic. Zwinglius was impetuous and

warlike; he died at the head of a band of soldiers in 1531. Knox, who has been termed the "ruffian of the Reformation," was coarse, violent, and gloomy; but master of a style of rude eloquence that swayed, what he termed, the "rascally multitude."

All of these men, except Calvin and Melanchthon, had been ordained priests prior to their rupture with the Church. Luther married a nun; Knox signalized his revolt from Rome by taking a wife, and Calvin and Zwinglius married wealthy widows.

Luther's sermons are the best evidences of his style. His shrewd adaptation of doctrines to please princes and conciliate powerful magnates shows his cunning and astuteness. He permitted Phillip of Hesse to have two wives, but he enjoined secrecy lest the "rough peasants" might also claim that privilege. His "Table Talk" purports to be a collection of his wit and wisdom delivered at the Black Eagle tavern, where

he met boon companions and drank copious quantities of wine. The famous saying:

> "Who loves not woman, wine and song
> Remains a fool his whole life long,"

is Goethe's rendering of a sentiment very generally attributed to Luther. Hallam seems to believe the supposition "almost justified that there was a vein of insanity in his very remarkable character."*

Calvin's vindictiveness is sufficiently shown in his conduct towards Servetus. He lured his victim to Geneva and then had him condemned to death. Geneva was governed by Blue Laws of a much stricter kind than those which prevailed in the New England colonies. At times the sway of Calvin is comparable to the French "Reign of Terror," and the character of Marat, as drawn by Carlyle, is not unfitted for Calvin.

"Here we may mention his [Luther's] attitude towards the second marriage of

*Constitutional History of England, Vol. I, Ch. 2, p. 73 n.

Phillip of Hesse. This prince, loving another woman than his wife, secured the opinion from the Reformer that while monogamy was the original institution of God, cases might arise to justify bigamy; but the second marriage should, for prudential reasons, be kept secret. The marriage took place March 3, 1540, in the presence of Melanchthon."

Schaff-Herzog Dictionary. Article on "Luther."

"It is idle to shield Calvin from the charge of bringing about Servetus' death, * * * but at the same time it is easy to excuse him on the ground of the persecuting spirit of the age. Strange as it may seem the Protestants who had felt the persecutions of Rome, were ready to persecute all who followed not with them."

Schaff-Herzog Dictionary. Article on "Calvin."

"In a conversation with Maitland, he [Knox] asserted most explicitly the duty of putting idolaters to death. Nothing can be more sanguinary than the Reformer's

spirit in this extraordinary interview. St. Dominick could not have surpassed him. It is strange to see men professing all the time our modern creed of charity and toleration extol these sanguinary spirits of the sixteenth century."

Hallam's Const. Hist. of England, I, Ch. 3, p. 147 n.

THE REFORMATION AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

TO what does the world of to-day owe such religious liberty as it possesses? Certainly to no principle or tendency born of the Reformation time. The Spanish Inquisition was not abolished until 1814. Catholic emancipation from the persecution of English Protestantism did not ensue until 1829. The nineteenth century came, but the laws of Saxony, disqualifying Catholics from holding property, still persisted in the "cradle of the Reformation."

Down to 1850, it was still a capital offense for any Catholic clergyman to cross the Danish frontier; down to 1876, only Protestants could hold office in New Hampshire; and even in our own day no Catholic may hold an office of trust or honor in Sweden.

The Protestant Reformation sought to substitute one form of orthodoxy for another. The old orthodoxy fought for its life; if Protestantism triumphed, it knew that the rack and the fagot would be its share. Religious hate and suspicion were engendered and persecutions followed as a natural consequence.

Religious liberty came only after the Reformation movement had run its course, and freedom of conscience is a *reaction* rather than a *result.*

Luther taught and preached the propriety and need of religious persecution. So did Calvin. The heavy treatise that the latter wrote on the "Punishment of Heretics" may still be consulted by any reader who wishes to study the arguments justifying the burning of human beings for religious differences. Luther had his victim in Karlstadt, whom he banished and exiled. Calvin had his victim in Servetus, whom he decoyed to Geneva and burned.

These apostles were zealously followed in

this particular by all their disciples. Beza, in France, and the leading English churchmen, even down to the eighteenth century, were believers in the right and duty of persecution for religious convictions.

The policy of nations was guided by that belief. The first condition of religious intolerance—a union of Church and State—was taken at the start by every country which adopted Protestantism. The triumph of the Reformation was always marked by the immediate promulgation of laws against Catholics and dissenters. This was the case in Hesse and Saxony; under Gustavus Vasa in Sweden; under Elizabeth in England; and under the House of Orange in the Netherlands.

The colonists of Massachusetts, fleeing from religious tyranny,—and whom we might naturally expect would spurn that which had exiled them—were yet so imbued with the cult of the Reformation time that they re-enacted, on American soil, the odious intolerance of their mother country.

Quakers were imprisoned, Baptists were banished, and "Papists" were pilloried and tortured.

Men had to forget the unnatural feelings born of the Reformation time, and to revert to natural common sense before they concluded to give up persecution. The hates, the envies, and the prejudices of the religious upheaval had to be cleared away before men's minds could calmly arrive at an earnest desire for toleration. When there is an outcropping of the old spirit we may be sure that it is a reversion to what has been termed the "fury of the Reformation time."

"Catholicism was an ancient Church. She had gained a great part of her influence by vast services to mankind. She rested avowedly on the principle of authority. She was defending herself against aggression and innovation. * * She might point to the priceless blessings she had bestowed upon humanity, to the

slavery she had destroyed, to the civilization she had founded, to the many generations she had led with honor to the grave. She might show how completely her doctrines were interwoven with the whole social system, how fearful would be the convulsion if they were destroyed, and how absolutely incompatible they were with the acknowledgment of private judgment. These considerations would not make her blameless, but they would, at least, palliate her guilt."

"But what shall we say of a church that was but a thing of yesterday; a church that had as yet no services to show, no claims upon the gratitude of mankind; a church that was by profession the creature of private judgment, and was in reality generated by the intrigues of a corrupt court, which nevertheless suppressed by force a worship that multitudes deemed necessary to salvation; which by all her organs, and with all her energies, persecuted those who clung to the religion of

their fathers? What shall we say of a religion which comprised, at most, but a fourth part of the Christian world, and which the first explosion of private judgment had shivered into countless sects, which was nevertheless so pervaded by the spirit of dogmatism that each of these sects asserted its distinctive doctrines with the same confidence, and persecuted with the same unhesitating violence, as a church which was venerable with the homage of twelve centuries? * * * So strong and so general was its intolerance that for some time it may, I believe, be truly said that there were more instances of partial toleration being advocated by Roman Catholics than by orthodox Protestants."

Lecky. "Rationalism in Europe." Vol. I. p. 51, ed. 1870.

"The Reformation of the sixteenth century was not aware of the true principles of intellectual liberty. * * * On the one side it did not know or respect all the rights of human thought; at the very moment it was demanding these rights

for itself it was violating them toward others. On the other hand it was unable to estimate the rights of authority in the matters of reason."

Guizot, History of Civilization, pp. 261-2.

"It is evident, moreover, * * * that the Reformers, just as much as the Papists, held it a right to inflict coercion, physical pains, and death upon those who denied what they regarded as the essential faith; it was a century and a half before Protestants learned definitely that they had no right to inflict death, imprisonment, stripes, or fines upon heretics. * * * Calvin burnt Servetus for heresy; the mild Melanchthon approved the act; so did Bucer. (Calv. Epist. p. 147, Genoa, 1575.) Calvin, in his letter to the Earl of Somerset, Lord Primate of England (Epist. 67), speaking of the Papists and of the fanatic sect of "Gospellers," says expressively, "they ought to be repressed by the avenging sword." Speaking of executions in England for religious opinions

Hazlitt says: "It appears many were put to death in the reign of Henry VIII; some in the time of Edward VI; one hundred and sixty Roman Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth; sixteen or seventeen in that of James; and more than twenty by the Presbyterians and Republicans."

Hazlitt, Notes to his Edition of Guizot's History of Civilization, pp. 266-7.

"Persecution is the deadly original sin of the reformed churches; that which cools every honest man's zeal for their cause in proportion as his reading becomes more extensive."

Hallam, Constitutional History of England, I, ch. 2, p. 105.

"In the Palatinate, a Calvinistic prince persecuted the Lutherans. In Saxony a Lutheran prince persecuted the Calvinists. Everybody who objected to any of the articles of the Confession of Augsburg was banished from Sweden. In Scotland, Melville was disputing with other Protestants on questions of ecclesiastical

government. In England the jails were filled with men, who, though zealous for the Reformation, did not exactly agree with the Court on all points of discipline and doctrine. Some were persecuted for denying the tenet of reprobation; some for not wearing surplices."

Macaulay's Essays. (Review of Von Ranke's Hist. of Popes.)

"When the Reformation triumphed in Scotland, one of its first fruits was a law prohibiting any priest from celebrating, or any worshipper from hearing, mass, under pain of the confiscation of his goods for the first offense, of exile for the second, and of death for the third. That the Queen of Scotland should be permitted to hear mass in her own private chapel was publicly denounced as an intolerable evil. 'One mass,' exclaimed Knox, 'is more fearful to me than if 10,000 armed enemies were landed in part of the realm.' In France, when the government of certain towns was

conceded to the Protestants, they immediately employed their power to suppress absolutely the Catholic worship, to prohibit any Protestant from attending a marriage or a funeral that was celebrated by a priest, to put down all mixed marriages, and to prosecute to the full extent of their power those who had abandoned their creed. In Sweden, all who dissented from any article of the Confession of Augsburg were at once banished. As late as 1690 a synod was held at Amsterdam, consisting partly of Dutch and partly of French and English ministers, who were driven to Holland by persecution, and in that synod the doctrine that the magistrate has no right to crush heresy and idolatry by the civil power was unanimously pronounced to be 'false, scandalous, and pernicious.' "

Lecky's Rationalism in Europe, Vol. II., pp. 49-50.

"The patriot reformers were ambitious of succeeding the tyrants whom they had dethroned. They imposed, with equal vigor, their creeds and confessions; they

asserted the right of the magistrate to punish the heretic with death."

Gibbon, Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire, Ch. 54.

"Rome had at least prescription on its side. But Protestant intolerance, despotism in an upstart sect, infallibility claimed by guides who acknowledge that they had passed the greater part of their lives in error, restraints imposed on the liberty of private judgment at the pleasure of rulers who could vindicate their own proceedings only by asserting the liberty of private judgment, these things could not long be borne. Those who had pulled down the crucifix could not long continue to persecute for the surplice. It required no great sagacity to perceive the inconsistency and dishonesty of men who, dissenting from almost all Christendom, would suffer none to dissent from themselves; who demanded freedom of conscience, yet refused to grant it; who execrated persecution, yet persecuted; who urged reason against the authority of

one opponent, and authority against the reason of another."

Macaulay's Essays. "Hampden."

"It must be admitted that in Scotland there is more bigotry, more superstition, and a more thorough contempt for the religion of others, than there is in France. And in Sweden, which is one of the oldest Protestant countries in Europe, there is, not occasionally, but habitually, an intolerance and a spirit of persecution, which would be discreditable to a Catholic country; but which is doubly disgraceful when proceeding from a people who profess to base their religion on the right of private judgment."

Buckle's History of Civilization in England, Vol. I, p. 264.

"The suffering of the Protestants had failed to teach them the worth of religious liberty; and a new code of ecclesiastical laws, which was ordered to be drawn up by a board of commissioners as a substitute for the Canon law of the Catholic Church,

although it shrank from the penalty of death, attached that of perpetual imprisonment or exile to the crimes of heresy, blasphemy, and adultery, and declared excommunication to involve a severance of the offender from the mercy of God and his deliverance into the tyranny of the devil."

Green. History of the English People, etc., Book vi., Ch. 1, "The Reformation." p. 226.

"The spirit of Calvinistic Presbyterianism excluded all toleration of practice or belief. * * For heresy there was to be the punishment of death. Never had the doctrine of persecution been urged with such a blind and reckless ferocity. 'I deny,' wrote Cartwright, 'that upon repentance there ought to follow any pardon of death. Heretics ought to be put to death now.'"

Id., Book vi., Ch. 5. "England and the Papacy."

"If the Protestant lords in Scotland had been driven to assert a right of nonconformity, if the Huguenots of France were

following their example, it was with no thought of asserting the right of every man to worship God as he would. From the claim of such a right, Knox or Coligni would have shrunk with even greater horror than Elizabeth. What they aimed at was simply the establishment of a truce till, by force or persuasion, they could win the realms that tolerated them for their own."

Id., Book vi., Ch. 3. "England of Elizabeth."

"The era of the long Parliament was that, perhaps, which witnessed the greatest number of executions for witchcraft. Three thousand persons are said to have perished during the continuance of the sittings of that body by legal execution, independently of summary deaths at the hands of the mob."

Chambers' Encyclopædia.

"Even Milton, it may be observed here, did not carry his doctrine of liberty of conscience so far as to lead him to favor the toleration of the mass and other

ceremonies of Roman Catholic worship, which, as being idolatrous, he thought should be forbidden."

Fisher, "History of the Reformation," Ch. 15.

THE REFORMATION AND CIVIL LIBERTY.

THE denial of free will by the early Protestants, and Luther's exaggeration of the obedience due princes, were tendencies adverse to progress in civil liberty; but their influence was slight compared with that of other circumstances growing out of the conflict of creeds.

No inconsiderable progress had been made in political freedom at the epoch when Luther appeared. In England, France, Spain, and Germany, we find Parliaments, States General, Cortes, and Diets. The people had acquired representative forms. The ancient liberties of England were formulated in the Magna Charta; there was trial by jury and there was the *habeas corpus*. Free cities flourished; and in Italy, the Republics of Genoa, Venice, Sienna, Florence, and Pisa,

conserved great popular liberties. With the natural momentum of progress, and the art of printing, there should have been no halt or retrogression.

Unhappily, this was precisely what occurred after the Protestant movement was fairly launched. In some instances, popular excesses, the revolts of the Anabaptists, and the anarchy caused by the new teaching, led to a reaction towards strong government. In other places the reformers courted the support of the princes and kings by clothing them with religious authority taken from the Pope. The Prince, uniting the authority of head of the State and head of the Church, became absolute and uncurbed.

This was the case in England, where the Parliament showed itself the pliant tool of Henry VIII., and where James I. proclaimed the doctrine of kingly divine right. It explains the unequaled absolutism of the Lutheran princes of Germany and the King of Prussia, even as late as the eighteenth

century. The same train of events blotted out all representative forms in Denmark under Frederick III., in 1669, and in Sweden under Charles XI., in 1680.

In fact, Protestantism and absolutism were simultaneous eras. A century after Luther, representative government has fallen into decay. Strong centralized monarchies rule all Europe; in France by virtue of the religious wars, and in Spain by reason of contagious example abroad.

The liberty of the press, which was little restricted during the first half century of printing, becomes the subject of close surveillance in the epochs of religious conflict, ensuing. The freedom with which Erasmus criticises princes in the early portion of the sixteenth century, is punished as sedition in the seventeenth. Milton makes a timid and unavailing plea for more liberty; yet things have only slightly bettered even a hundred years after Milton.

We might naturally expect that in the

turmoil of religious conflict there would be a notable loss of respect for life and property. The persecution of recusants and the confiscation of church property were not without a demoralizing influence on the safety of human life and the security of all kinds of property. Law and liberty go hand in hand. In the midst of civil conflict and religious hatred the conditions for progress in political freedom, were decidedly unfavorable. There was universal regress, and then slow recovery. Civil liberty made greater strides in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century than in all the three hundred years preceding.

"In Germany, far from demanding political liberty, the Reformation accepted, I shall not say servitude, but the absence of liberty (p. 259)." * * * It rather strengthened than enfeebled the power of princes; it was rather opposed to the free institutions of the middle ages than favorable to their progress (p. 258). * *

In England it consented to the existence of a church as full of abuses as ever the Romish Church had been, and much more servile (p. 259). * * It doubtless left the mind subject to all the chances of liberty or thraldom which might arise from political institutions."

Guizot. "History of Civilization," pp. 258-9

"All that men saw was political and religious chaos, in which ecclesiastical order had perished, and in which politics was dying down into the squabbles of a knot of nobles over the spoils of the church and crown."

Green's Hist. of the English People. Book vi., Ch. 1, 'The Reformation.'

"In 1549 Devonshire demanded, by open revolt, the restoration of the mass and the Six Articles, as well as a partial re-establishment of the suppressed abbeys. The Agrarian discontent woke again in general disorder. Enclosures and evictions were going steadily on, and the bitterness of the

change was being heigthened by the results of the dissolution of the abbeys. Church lands had always been underlet, the monks were easy landlords, and on no estates had the peasantry been as yet so much exempt from the general revolution in culture. But the new lay masters, to whom the abbey lands fell, were quick to reap their full value by a rise of rents, and by the same processes of eviction and enclosure as went on elsewhere."

Id., VI, ch. 1.

"While the reckless energy of the reformers brought England to the verge of chaos it brought Ireland to the verge of rebellion."

Id., VI, Chap. 1.

"The immediate effect of the Reformation in England was by no means favorable to political liberty. The authority which had been exercised by the Popes was transferred almost entire to the King. Two formidable powers, which had often served to check

each other, were united in a single despot. If the system on which the founders of the Church of England acted could have been permanent, the Reformation would have been, in a political sense, the greatest curse that ever fell on our country. * * * "

Macaulay's Essays. "Hampden."

"Not only freedom of thought, but civil liberty also suffered much in many states of Europe, and especially in Germany from the religious schism. In this country the revolt of the peasants and the discontent of the nobles were the pretext; the power of the princes, so augmented by the confiscation of church property and their own close alliance with each other, was the cause of these numerous restrictions upon ancient freedom."

Schlegel, Lectures on Modern History. (Lecture 15 and 16, p. 209.)

TWO POLITICAL THEORIES OF THE REFORMATION TIME.

THAT Kings hold their power directly from God, and, consequently, are responsible to Him only for their acts, is, in substance, the doctrine of "the divine and indefeasible right of Kings." The teaching of the Catholic and Papal theologians made monarchs responsible to the people from whom they immediately held their authority. Louis of Bavaria, in his struggle against the Pope, was the first strong advocate of the divine-right theory. To bolster up his authority against the censures of Rome, he sought to read his title direct from the Diety, rather than through the good graces of his Christian subjects.

The rise of the great monarchies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made

this mischievous theory really formidable. When James I. published his plea for what Pope wittily calls

"The right divine of Kings to govern wrong,"

he was ably answered by the Jesuit theologian, Suarez. The theologians saw in the divine right of kings a piece of hypocritical politics aiming at the destruction of the Church's spiritual independence, and the substitution of Cæsarism and absolutism.

So the theory operated in the case of Louis XIV., with his autocratic boast: "*L'etat c'est moi.*" He made it the basis of usurping Papal prerogatives. Finally, democracy has come round to the views of the churchmen on the subject, and the People-King is the only custodian of divine rights recognized in our day.

The principle, *Cujus regio, ejus religio*, is the expressive Latin of a peace plan adopted at the treaty of Augsburg, in 1555, and endorsed nearly a hundred years later

at the treaty of Westphalia. The religion of the prince or elector of a state was to determine the religion of his subjects. Menzel describes this principle as "a result of Luther's well-known policy." The reformers succeeded in all cases by winning the civil authority on their side at the beginning. To enforce the religion of the prince upon his subjects always brought on a struggle, and it was needful to lay hold of a plan like that asserted in *Cujus regio, ejus religio.* In one instance — that of Pfalz — the religion of the people was changed arbitrarily four times by reason of this principle. Its survival in Germany, especially among the Lutheran princes, is a noticeable circumstance even to-day. Yet there never was a theory more odious, both in the light of civil as well as of religious liberty.

"It is notorious that as soon as the decay of the feudal system had thrown the mediæval constitutions out of working

order, and when the reformation had discredited the authority of the Pope, the doctrine of the divine right of kings rose immediately into an importance which had never before attended it."

Henry Sumner Maine, Ancient Law, p. 334.

"It is remarkable that in opposition to these novel dogmas [of the Jesuits] there appeared on the Protestant side a theory of the divine right of Kings and the related doctrine of passive obedience. * * * The advocates of freedom and revolt against spiritual authority are equally strenuous for slavish maxims of political obedience."

Fisher's "History of the Reformation," Ch. 14, pp. 505-6.

THE REFORMATION AND LITERATURE.

THE revival of literature was well under way when the Protestant Reformation burst forth. Printing, paper manufacture, the fall of Constantinople, and the discovery of America, were four important impulses to progress that had transpired during the latter half of the fifteenth century.

In literature and art, Europe was decidedly on the upgrade. The Reformation, largely from the nature of the case and incidentally by reason of its teachings, tended to retard this literary and intellectual advancement.

1. It was a revolution accompanied everywhere by turmoil and disorder. Force, rather than reason, decided the fate of the conflict. Cabals and plots, surprises and *coup d'etats*, wars, sieges and massa-

cres, were the events of the day. These conditions have never favored literary and intellectual progress at any period of the world's history. Men's minds are drawn away from the pursuits of peace, the culture of the arts and the sciences, and the upbuilding of useful knowledge. There is no stability of national desire. The concern of every man is for the protection of the goods he has — life and property — rather than for acquisition and improvement.

2. Such literature as most prevailed in the Reformation period, was of the controversial order — and this, not scholarly or valuable, but fashioned after the pattern set by Luther—rough, violent, disputatious, and bad tempered. The literary field was overgrown with this kind of weed, and seemingly sterile to the production of aught else.

3. For nearly fifty years (1520–70) England produced no literature of any value, and in Germany the sterility and

blight in letters lasted for two hundred years after Luther. Not until the time of Liebnitz did Germany begin to re-possess a literature.

4. The breaking up of the monasteries, which constituted the common school system of the middle ages, had an unfavorable effect on literature as well as upon the intelligence of the masses.

There was everywhere a falling off in the attendance at the universities. The essential importance of these nurseries of learning was never greater, relatively, than at the time of the Reformation. Their injury was the hurt of everything intellectual throughout Europe.

5. Certain forms of Protestantism were distinctly unfavorable to literature. The Anabaptists burned libraries and decried education. Calvinism warred on art and poetry, as frivolous and diabolical. Among the Puritans there was a dislike for all kinds of human learning which were not Biblical or theological in their purposes.

The theater was an abomination; and the study of the classics — to which England owed her literary renaissance — was likened unto the pursuit of false gods.

6. Growing out of the suspicion and hate of warring creeds, stricter censorship was established over the press. Books were condemned and suppressed. Authors were constrained to tell half truths. Criticism was gagged. The heterodox in politics and science was punished equally with the heterodox in religion. There was far greater freedom of thought and speech in the Europe of the fifteenth century than in the Europe of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

"The most striking effect of the first preaching of the Reformation was that it appealed to the ignorant."

Hallam, Int. to Literature of Europe. Vol. I. p. 181.

"For, though the Protestant Reformation was a consequence of this progress [revival

of learning], it was for some time unfavorable to it, by encouraging the ablest men in the discussion of questions inaccessible to human reason, and thus diverting them from subjects in which their efforts would have been available for the general purposes of civilization. Hence, we find that little was really accomplished until the end of the sixteenth century, when the theological fervor began to subside in England and France, and the way was prepared for that purely secular philosophy, of which Bacon and Descartes were the exponents, but by no means the creators."

Buckle's History of Civilization in England. Vol. I., p. 329.

"Among the effects of the Reformation in England during Edward VI's reign, Green notes that "divinity ceased to be taught in the universities; students had fallen off in numbers; libraries were scattered and burned; and the intellectual impulse had died away."

Green's Hist. of English People. Book vi., Ch. 1, p. 367.

"Classical learning, indeed, all but perished at the Universities in the storm of the Reformation, nor did it revive here till the close of Elizabeth's reign."

Green, Book vi., Ch. 7, (England of Shakespeare.)

"Missals were chopped in pieces with hatchets, college libraries plundered and burned. The divinity schools were planted with cabbages, and the Oxford laundresses dried clothes in the schools of art."

Froude, Hist. of England, Vol. v, Ch. 5.

"In Protestant countries, after the Reformation, the supervision of the printing and circulation of books devolved upon the State. A tiring and meddlesome censorship, and sometimes a severe penal code were established by various governments."

Fisher, History of the Reformation, Ch. 15, p. 527.

Matthew Arnold [Schools and Universities of the Continent, p. 154], speaks of the Elizabethan literature as the work of

"men of the Renaissance, not men of the Reformation." Taine, in his "History of English Literature," entitles his chapter the Elizabethan age, "The Pagan Renaissance."

Motley describes the iconoclastic movements of the Reformation in the Netherlands. "The Netherlands," he says, "possessed an extraordinary number of churches and monasteries. Their exquisite architecture and elaborate decoration had been the earliest indication of intellectual culture displayed in the country. All that science could invent, all that art could embody, all that mechanical ingenuity could dare, all that wealth could lavish—all gathered round these magnificent temples. * * * And now, for the space of only six or seven days and nights, there raged a storm by which all these treasures were destroyed. Nearly every one of these temples were rifled of their contents. Art must forever weep over this bereavement. * * The mob rose in the night in Antwerp,

and began by wrecking the great cathedral church of Our Lady, and before morning they sacked thirty churches within the walls. * * * They destroyed seventy chapels, forced open all the chests of treasure, covered their own squalid attire with the gorgeous robes of the ecclesiastics, and burned the splendid missals and manuscripts. * * * Hardly a statue or picture escaped destruction. The number of churches desecrated has never been counted. In the single province of Flanders four hundred were sacked."

Motley. "Rise of the Dutch Republic." vol. I, ch. 7.

"BLOODY MARY" AND "GOOD QUEEN BESS."

THESE expressions give us a remarkable illustration of how religious animosity may color history. The unimpeachable truth is that Mary was at least as good as Elizabeth, and Elizabeth was at least as bloody as Mary.

Both royal ladies persecuted—but with this difference: Mary persecuted Protestants, and Elizabeth persecuted Catholics. In our day, either kind of persecution is equally wrong and reprehensible. Not so, in other and less tolerant days. The age that coined these expressions thought Mary "bloody" for the killing she did, but it thought Bess "good" because she did her killing on the other side. Judgments which depend upon "whose ox is gored," are of no historical value. Adjectives like "good"

and "bloody," based on such judgments, are little better.

The victims of Mary's persecution numbered two hundred and eighty-four, according to Burnett; two hundred and eighty-eight, according to Strype; "above two hundred," says Miss Strickland, and "almost two hundred," according to Lingard. They were chiefly laymen, few clergymen suffering death.

The Catholic victims under Elizabeth amounted to one hundred and ninety-one according to Dodd, and to two hundred and four according to Milner. "Many others," says Hallam, "died of hardship in prison." Lingard ascertains from contemporary lists that one hundred and twenty-four Catholic priests were executed. Challoner thinks that the number of priests alone who suffered death was nearly two hundred.

Mary's persecution lasted four years; Elizabeth's, forty-four. The fines for recusancy, the banishments, the imprisonments, and torture which characterize

Elizabeth's reign are more impressive of the horrors of persecution than even the hangings and burnings at Tyburn. Strype tells us that at one of the assizes in Hampshire four hundred recusants were presented, and at another in Lancashire, six hundred. Bridgewater states that at one time twenty Catholic recusants died of infectious disease in York Castle.

"The rack seldom stood idle in the tower for all the latter part of Elizabeth's reign," says Hallam. "Such excessive severities," he continues, "under the pretext of treason, but sustained by very little evidence of any other offense than the exercise of Catholic ministry, excited indignation throughout a good part of Europe." *

As to the comparative characters of Mary and Elizabeth, Miss Strickland's "Queens of England" seems to place a much higher estimation on that of the former than on the latter.

* Const. History of England. Vol. I., p. 201.

"The Catholics did not, at the time of Elizabeth's accession, rise in arms to seat a pretender to the throne. But before Mary had given, or could give, provocation, the most distinguished Protestants attempted to set aside her rights in favor of the Lady Jane. That attempt, and the subsequent insurrection of Wyatt, furnished as good a plea for the burning of Protestants as the conspiracies of Mary against Elizabeth furnish for the hanging and emboweling of Papists."

Macaulay's Essays. "Hallam."

"It is due, indeed, to the memory of one who has left so odious a name, to remark that Mary was conscientiously averse to encroach upon what she understood to be the privileges of her people. A wretched book, having been written to exalt her prerogative on the ridiculous pretense that, as queen, she was not bound by the laws of former kings, she showed it to Gardiner,

and, on his expressing his indignation at the sophism, threw it herself into the fire."

Hallam's Constitutional Hist. of England. Vol. I, p. 55.

"To modern eyes there is something even more revolting than open persecution in a policy which branded every Catholic priest as a traitor and all Catholic worship as disloyal." * *

"An act to retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in due obedience prohibited the saying of mass even in private houses, increased the fine on recusants to twenty pounds a month, etc." * *

"If we adopt the Catholic estimate of the times, the twenty years which followed [1580–1600] saw the execution of two hundred priests while a yet greater number perished in filthy and fever-stricken goals, in which they were plunged. The work of reconciliation with Rome was arrested by this ruthless energy."

Green's Hist. of the English People. Book vi., Ch. 5. "England and the Papacy."

"Being herself [Queen Elizabeth] an Adiaphorist, having no scruple about conforming to the Romish Church when conformity was necessary to her own safety, retaining to the last moment of her life a fondness for much of the doctrine and much of the ceremonial of that church, she yet subjected that church to a persecution even more odious than the persecution with which her sister had harassed the Protestants. We say more odious. For Mary had at least the plea of fanaticism. She did nothing for her religion which she was not prepared to suffer for it. She had held it firmly under persecution. She fully believed it to be essential to salvation. If she burned the bodies of her subjects, it was in order to rescue their souls. Elizabeth had no such pretext. In opinion she was little more than half a Protestant. She had professed, when it suited her, to be wholly a Catholic."

Macaulay's Essays. "Burleigh and His Times."

THE INQUISITION.

TWENTY-TWO thousand persons suffered death for theft in England during the thirty-eight years of a single reign. The justice of our ancestors was a bloody affair.

Sir James Stephen, in his "History of the English Criminal Law" (p. 467), says: "If the average number of executions in each county were twenty, a little more than a quarter of the executions in Devonshire, in 1598, this would make eight hundred executions a year in the forty English counties" — or, 80,000 in the course of a century. Mackay, in a work entitled "Curious Superstitions" (p. 237), says that 40,000 witches were put to death in England from 1600 to 1680.*

* Hefele shows that at Nordingen — a Protestant town of Germany, having then a population of 6,000 — the authorities

The Spanish Inquisition dealt with polygamy, witchcraft, treason, heresy, and a variety of other offenses. During the fifteen years that Torquemada was Chief Inquisitor, the historian, Mariana, says that two thousand executions were reported. Llorente estimates the capital punishments under the Spanish Inquisition at thirty thousand, during the three centuries of its existence. According to Llorente, the Spanish tribunal took cognizance of many crimes besides heresy; of sins against nature, of ecclesiastical and monastic immoralities; of blasphemy, usury, and sacrilegious theft; of all crimes connected with the employes or affairs of the tribunal; of traffic in contraband of war, and of every kind of sorcery and superstition.

There are positive complaints of gross

burned, in four years (1590-94), thirty-five sorcerers. Applying these proportions to Spain, where sorcery was then at least as prevalent, there should have been in four years 50,000 sorcerers executed in that country; that is, 20,000 more than Llorente assigns as victims of every kind to the Spanish Inquisition during its career of 330 years.

inaccuracy against Llorente, and some glaring mistakes are pointed out in his history.*

He took a novel method of making an authority of himself. Having obtained custody of the archives of the Inquisition when Joseph Bonaparte captured Madrid, he used select portions, chosen with the avowed intent of blackening its record, and then burnt the original documents so that no future historian could gainsay him.

The Spanish Inquisition is merely a tangible instance of the civil polity that prevailed contemporaneously throughout Europe. There was also a Portuguese Inquisition and a Roman Inquisition. There was a Protestant Inquisition in England which burnt its victims at Tyburn

*He says, for instance, "that during the first year of its existence (1481) the sole tribunal of Seville burned 2,000, all of whom belonged to the dioceses of Seville and Cadiz." In support of this charge he cites Mariana; but a consultation of that historian will reveal that the number of 2,000 includes all the persons executed under Torquemada, and throughout his entire jurisdiction — that is, in the whole of Castile and Leon, during fifteen years of inquisitorship.

and a Calvinistic Inquisition at Geneva. There was an American colonial Inquisition during the Salem witchcraft. The civil polity of those times made treason to faith, a crime against the State.

To determine whether the accused was really guilty of heresy, a tribunal was set up, with priests among the judges. They were theological experts in the employ of the State. The tribunal was regarded as a political institution. Just as witchcraft came before the courts in England and America as a crime against the State, so witchcraft and heresy went before the tribunal called the Inquisition.

The Pope, who had consented to the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition, eventually found himself at variance with it. Sixtus IV. complained of its severity, and admonished the Spanish monarchs to be more merciful. A later Pope excommunicated the Inquisitors of Toledo; and Papal antipathy kept the institution out of Italy. But this Church hostility did not

persuade the Spaniards to give up what they thought a very useful political machine. The spirit of the age was with it. It was founded in a moment of victory over the Moorish invaders, and with the purpose of putting down secret plots of rebellion. Jews, pretending to be Catholic converts, but continuing their ancient religious ceremonies in secret, and cherishing a bitterer hatred of Christianity, were to be ferreted out. It was argued that this was demanded for the sake of the public peace and security, and the Inquisition was deemed the effective means to the end.

As a tribunal it had first come into existence at the council of Toulouse, in 1229, when the Albigenses had been put down and a similar state of disorder existed. The secret crimes of the Manichæans could be dealt with, only by an inquisitorial tribunal composed of men expert in detecting the heretical opinions which prompted such crimes. Thus the first inquisition commended itself to the law and order party of

the middle ages. And its record suggested its usefulness, for their purpose, to Ferdinand and Isabella, when the task of consolidating their reconquered kingdom presented itself. It continued to exist in Spain until abolished by Joseph Bonaparte at the beginning of the present century.

Guizot remarks, "the Inquisition was, at first more political than religious, and destined rather for the maintenance of order than the defence of faith."

History of Civilization, Lecture 11.

"In the first place, the Inquisitors were royal officers. The Kings had the right of appointing and dismissing them. * * * The courts of the Inquisition were subject, like other magistracies, to royal visitors. 'Do you not know,' said the King (to Ximenes), 'that if this tribunal possess jurisdiction, it is from the King it derives it?'

"In the second place, all the profit of the confiscations by this court accrued to the

King. These were carried out in a very unsparing manner. Though the fueros (privileges) of Aragon forbade the King to confiscate the property of his convicted subjects, he deemed himself exalted above the law in matters pertaining to this court. * * * The proceeds of these confiscations formed a sort of regular income for the royal exchequer. It was even believed, and asserted from the beginning, that the Kings had been moved to establish and countenance this tribunal more by their hankering after the wealth it confiscated than by motives of piety.

"In the third place, it was the Inquisition, and the Inquisition alone, that completely shut out all extraneous interference with the state. The sovereign had now at his disposal a tribunal from which no grandee, no Archbishop, could withdraw himself. As Charles knew no other means of bringing certain punishment on the Bishops who had taken part in the insurrection of the Communidades (or communes that were

struggling for their rights and liberties), he chose to have them judged by the Inquisition. * * *

"It was, in spirit and tendency, a political institution. The Pope had an interest in thwarting it, and he did so; but the king had an interest in constantly upholding it."

The Ottoman and Spanish Empires, pp. 78-9, by Leopold Ranke. (Ed. Phila. 1845).

"The Spanish Inquisition, in its peculiar form, was set up by Ferdinand and Isabella, in the first instance, for the purpose of discovering the converts from Judaism, who returned to their former creed. * * It was an institution for stifling sedition as well as heresy. Hence, it was defended by the Spanish sovereign against objections and complaints of the Pope."

Fisher's History of Reformation, Ch. 11, p. 403.

"In its earlier stage the Inquisition was quite as much a civil as an ecclesiastical tribunal, being especially directed against the exclusive privileges and immunities

claimed by the hereditary nobility; and although under Cardinal Ximenes the suppression of heresy became one of its chief functions it was long regarded with no friendly feelings by Rome."

Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XX., p. 324.

In Nicholas Eymerich's "Official Directory of the Inquisition" (A. D., 1567) one of the crimes classed as "heresy" is selling arms or ammunition to the French.

"It was easy for the King [Philip II., of Spain] to employ the forces of one kingdom to crush the liberties of the others. And Philip possessed a formidable weapon in the Inquisition, which he did not scruple to use for secular purposes. Political independence was crushed with the same relentless severity as religious dissent."

Encyclopædia Britannica. (Ninth Ed.) Vol. xxii., p. 329.

The activity of the Holy Office [of the Spanish Inquisition] was at first directed against the Jews whose obstinate adherence

to their faith, in spite of persecution, was punished by an edict for their expulsion in 1492. Their departure deprived Spain of many industrious inhabitants; but its importance has been much exaggerated by authors who have failed to notice that it was followed not by the decline of Spain, but by the period of its greatest prosperity."

Encyclopædia Britannica. Ninth Ed., Vol. XXII., p. 326, "Spain."

"Hefele, in his 'Life of Ximenes,' and in the article "*Inquisition*," in Wetzer and Welte, has shown that the methods of the Inquisition were, in some respects, less cruel than those of the criminal courts of the day."

Schaff-Herzog Dictionary. Article on "Inquisition."

"The Jesuits were from first to last obnoxious to the Inquisitions of the peninsula. The hostility seen in the arrest of St. Ignatius, the persecution of St. Francis Borgia, friend of Carranza, the arrest of the Provincial, and the attempt to

censure the whole Order, in 1586, the action against the Bollandists, the persecution of Vieyra, the action of the Portuguese Inquisition against the Society of Jesus, and the burning of Father Malagrida; the hostility in all these is too clear and positive to be questioned. And, strange as it may seem, Jesuits help to swell the numbers of the sufferers for whom Llorente, and such blind followers as Rule, evoke the tears of Protestants. * * * Of canonized saints, not only St. Ignatius, St. Francis' Borgia, but even St. Teresa was denounced by the Inquisition. Nor has any Grand Inquisitor or official of that later tribunal since the origin of Protestantism been beatified or canonized by the Church."

The American Catholic Quarterly Review, Vol. I. p. 629.

THE JESUITS.

PROTESTANTISM swept everything before it during the first forty years of its existence. It acquired a strength and an expansion that it has never since attained to. For a time France was debatable ground. An ambassador of Venice reported that nine-tenths of the German people had embraced Protestantism (A. D. 1558). Scarcely a thirtieth of the population of Austria remained Catholics. In Transylvania the people confiscated all the church property. In Poland the Protestants took possession of the parish churches and obtained a majority in the Diet; in Bohemia and Hungary Protestantism was in the ascendancy, and there were hundreds of thousands of Belgian Calvinists. "There remain firm to the Pope," he continued, "only Spain and Italy with some few islands, and

those countries possessed by your Serenity in Dalmatia and Greece."

A Catholic reaction, or "counter reformation," ensued about the middle of the sixteenth century, and by the year 1575 the reflux wave had entered southern Germany. There was a century of conflict ending with the treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The result remains to this day: The entire debatable territory was won back by the Catholic party;—France and Austria were confirmed in the old faith; Belgium, Poland, and Southern Germany were reconquered.

To a certain extent this result may have been due to a natural re-awakening of the Catholic faith among the people; the reconquest was certainly aided by princes like Duke Albert, of Bavaria, and the Emperor Ferdinand, of Austria. After the polity of the times, these rulers did not scruple to use constraint. But the fact remains that the chief element of the victory was force of conviction. And the

teaching and preaching that produced the result was largely that of the Jesuits.

This new order has its place in the history of Europe notably on account of its struggle with Protestantism. The original design of Loyola, its founder, was to convert the Saracens and establish headquarters at Jerusalem. But the great order drifted from the outset into its appointed work.

We observe that there was no hurry in laying the foundations of the "Society of Jesus." After he had conceived the notion, Loyola spent several years attending the Spanish universities. Here he fell foul of the Inquisition, and never after appears to have been an admirer of that tribunal; he refused, later on, to allow Jesuits to serve on it. The year 1534 found him at the University of Paris, where he lived intimately with Peter Faber and Francis Xavier. They, and a few Spanish students, were his first recruits. The group agreed to separate for a time and meet in Venice by 1637. At Venice, Ignatius worked

among the poor with Father Carraffa, who afterwards became Pope. The order was formally approved at Rome in 1540. Strict obedience to the Pope, and willingness to serve the Church, wherever he appointed, were elements in the Jesuit plan that strongly commended it to the Pontiff. The Catholic world needed such an order at that time.

Once approved at Rome, the new organization experienced rapid growth. This, too, notwithstanding the extended special training required of its members. But the plan of the order satisfied the best and most intelligent religious feeling of the time. At Louvain University eighteen young men, then in their master's degree, joined the Jesuits the first year of its foundation. The order at once developed some strong leaders like Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia, Roderigo in Portugal, Peter Canisius in Germany, and Francis Xavier. When Ignatius, who was its first general, died in 1556, there were thirteen provinces of the

order. Jesuits had penetrated the forests of Brazil, and nearly a hundred followers of Xavier were at work in India and China.

The personal merit of the members was one source of their popularity and influence. The education they provided was gratuitous. Unquestionably, their methods of teaching were a great advance upon those of the times. Their schools obtained that instant prestige which the world knows how to give meritorious innovations. Protestant pupils left their own universities to attend those of the Jesuits. They educated the cardinals, the bishops, and the counsellors of state, but refused to accept any of these dignities themselves. Their preaching drew the multitudes to their churches. Their care of the sick and interest in the poor conciliated the people. Their good manners made them desired in higher circles. They became confessors to the nobles and princes.

The "counter-reformation" in Germany was won by calling in the Jesuits. At first

they were known as "Spanish priests;" but they established universities and multiplied their membership. They swarmed at every point of conflict. In one year 40,000 converts were made in Austria. Bavaria was won back after a hard struggle. The Rhine provinces were next reconquered. A Jesuit was chosen King of Poland. They were in every court and council directing the movements of Catholic princes. Protestantism everywhere recognized its new foemen. Melanchthon, on his death-bed, in 1560, is reported to have said: "Alas! What is this? I see the whole world being filled with Jesuits." In England and Sweden, severe and sanguinary treatment was visited upon them. During one year (1670) the Huguenots put forty-nine Jesuits to death. But they were not deterred. "They dare everything," said their admirers. They entered Russia and tried to convert Turkey. Hallam, in his "Literature of Europe," notes the multitude of leading names that the Jesuits furnished

in all departments of thought and investigation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They wrote the books of Latin Europe.

Francis Xavier and his followers made a million converts in India. There were 750,000 Japanese Catholics in 1610. Father Nobili assumed the habit of the priestly caste in India—the Brahmins—and induced seventy of them to labor with him. In Paraguay the Jesuits built up an Indian nation and civilized it. In North America they established a chain of missions stretching from Quebec to New Orleans.

Yet, after the lapse of two hundred and thirty-three years, the same authority that founded the Jesuit order, caused it to be suppressed. Pope Clement XIV., to "promote concord in the Church" and peace among the nations, abolished the order in 1773. The opinion of the world had changed. Spain, where the society

was cradled, became its bitterest opponent, and Austria, whose fortunes the Jesuits had served in trying times, concurred in the decree. The flood tide of enmity, which the Jesuits had been encountering for many years, then had its way.

The order was either too united, too virtuous, too astute, or too able to be an object of indifference. It aroused the jealousy of other orders. Ambitious men envied the power it obtained in the civil governments. The "spirit of the age" in the eighteenth century was schooled against it; the Jesuits stood for the established conditions in Church and State. The whole force of social and political innovation was directed against them. The Jansenists — an able, intellectual sect — and the Encyclopedists, headed by Voltaire and D'Alembert, fought against them. Finally, three great political ministers combined to crush them: Pombal in Portugal, D'Aranda in Spain, and Choiseul in France. The

pressure of the Bourbon courts was mainly responsible for their suppression.

Through their two centuries of activity, a mass of hostile criticism and detraction was accumulated against the Jesuits. They were accused of complicity in the assassination of Henry III. of France; a Jesuit (Father Garnet) was among those who paid the penalty of the Gunpowder plot; Pombal sought to implicate them in an attempt on the life of the King of Portugal; D'Aranda made Charles III. of Spain believe that they were conspiring to depose him in favor of his brother. The Dominican order accused them of heretical teachings with regard to predestination and free will, and with tolerating Pagan customs in China. Pascal, in his famous "Provincial Letters," attacked them as lax casuists. The Parliament of Paris — their inveterate foe — claimed to discover a book called the "Monita Secreta" among their effects, which contained alleged rules of a

nature very damaging to the order's reputation.*

In all these charges there is more or less circumstantial evidence, but a thorough lack of conclusive proof. The bankruptcy of a commercial house of Martinique served as a pretext for suits against the order in France which seriously crippled it.

There were 23,000 Jesuits (of whom nearly 12,000 were priests) at the time of the suppression, in 1773. The order was re-established in 1814, and its present membership is said to be about 13,000.

"In the Order of Jesus was concentrated the quintessence of the Catholic spirit; and the history of the Order of Jesus is the history of the great Catholic reaction. That order possessed itself at once of all the strongholds which command the public

*"The credit of the order was, however, far more seriously damaged by the publication at Cracow, in 1612, of an *ingenious forgery* * * entitled *Monita Secreta*." * *

Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XIII., p. 650.

mind, of the pulpit, of the press, of the confessional, of the academies. Wherever Jesuits preached, the church was too small for the audience. The name of Jesuit on a title page secured the circulation of a book. It was in the ears of the Jesuit that the powerful, the noble, and the beautiful, breathed the secret history of their lives. It was at the feet of the Jesuit that the youth of the higher and middle classes were brought up from childhood to manhood, from the first rudiments to the courses of rhetoric and philosophy. Literature and science, lately associated with infidelity or with heresy, now became the allies of orthodoxy. Dominant in the South of Europe, the great order soon went forth conquering and to conquer. In spite of oceans and deserts, of hunger and pestilence, of spies and penal laws, of dungeons and racks, of gibbets and quartering-blocks, Jesuits were to be found under every disguise, and in every country; scholars, physicans, merchants, serving men; in the hostile

court of Sweden, in the old manor-house of Cheshire, among the hovels of Connaught; arguing, instructing, consoling, stealing away the hearts of the young, animating the courage of the timid, holding up the crucifix before the eyes of the dying.

"* * The old world was not wide enough for this strange activity. The Jesuit invaded all the countries which the maritime discoveries of the preceding age had laid open to European enterprise. They were to be found in the depths of the Peruvian mines, at the marts of the African slave-caravans, on the Spice Islands, in the observatories of China. They made converts in regions which neither avarice nor curiosity had tempted any of their countrymen to enter; and preached and disputed in tongues of which no other native of the West understood a word."

Macaulay's Essays, "Von Ranke's History of Popes."

"They [the Jesuits] saw, what no others of the Catholic Church seemed to have

perceived, that a great future was in store for the people, and they labored, with a zeal that will secure them everlasting honor, to hasten and direct the emancipation. By a system of the boldest casuistry, by fearless use of their private judgment in all matters which the Church had not strictly defined, and by a skillful employment and expansion of some of the maxims of the school men, they succeeded in disentangling themselves from the traditions of the past, and in giving an impulse to liberalism wherever their influence extended."

Lecky's "Rationalism in Europe," Vol. II. p. 147.

"Such a combination of competent knowledge and indefatigable zeal, of study and persuasiveness, of pomp and asceticism, of world-wide influence and unity in the governing principle, was never beheld before or since. They were assiduous and visionary, worldy wise and filled with enthusiasm, were competent men whose society was gladly courted, devoid of personal

interest, each laboring for the advancement of the rest."

Ranke. "History of Popes." Book V, p. 169.

" * * In the theory of popular sovereignty and of the social compact the peculiar tendencies of Catholic theology are most apparent. This was advocated by Lainez, the second General of the Jesuits, by the eminent Spanish Jesuit, Mariana, and by Bellarmine. It is the doctrine that power, as far as temporal rule is concerned, originally resides, by the gift and appointment of God, in the people. * * * It is curious to observe the widest speculations of Locke, Rousseau, and Jefferson, as to the origin of government, and the right of revolution were anticipated by the Jesuitic scholars of the sixteenth century. It is remarkable that in opposition to these novel dogmas there appeared on the Protestant side a theory of the divine right of Kings and the related doctrine of passive obedience. * * * The advocates

of freedom and revolt against spiritual authority are equally strenuous for slavish maxims of political obedience."

Fisher's "History of the Reformation," Ch. 14, pp. 505-6.

"Among the members of this society, and among their pupils who were learned by it, there is included a long list of men who are distinguished for services rendered to science and learning."

Id., Ch. 15, p. 529.

"Their system of educational training was according to a strict method; but their schools were pervaded by their peculiar religious spirit. It was largely through their influence that the profane or secular tone of culture, that had prevailed in the cities of Italy, was superseded by a culture in which reverence for religion and the Church was a vital element."

Fisher's "History of the Reformation," Ch. 11, p. 413.

THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY.

THE word Huguenot (oath-bound) indicates that the French Protestants of the sixteenth century were a closely organized community. Their religious apostle was Calvin, and their preaching and acting was bold, loud, and aggressive. That the adherents of the new and the old faith should come to blows was inevitable. There were not wanting political reasons, such as the jealousies existing between the houses of Guise and Conde, to bring the quarrel to a head. The court of Navarre was Protestant; that of France was Catholic, and under the influence of the Duke of Guise.

In 1559 transpired what is known as the "Conspiracy of Amboise." It was an effort of Conde, Coligny, and other Huguenot

leaders to seize the King (Francis II.) and substitute their own influence over him, for the Guise influence. This attempt was checkmated. But it left both factions resting on their arms.

Three Huguenot rebellions followed,—1562, 1567, and 1568,—in all of which they were defeated. The conduct of the Huguenots, however, tended to exasperate the great majority of the nation. They gave up the ports of Havre and Dieppe to their country's hereditary foes, the English; and they invited German guerrilla bands across the frontier to pillage Normandy. A Huguenot emissary from Orleans assassinated the Duke of Guise. Once again an attempt was made to kidnap the King of France at Monceau. Besides these things there were, in the popular mind, numberless instances of Huguenot excess and cruelty. Brequimaut, the leader of the reformers, in 1568, wore a necklace composed of the ears of assassinated priests. Baron D'Adrets, after taking the fortress of Montbrison,

compelled the Catholic prisoners to leap from the battlements into the surrounding moats, where they were caught on the upraised pikes of his soldiers. The *Michelade,* a massacre of the Catholics of Nismes, occurred in 1567; and similar acts of violence were perpetrated at Mautauban, Valence, and even in Paris. Evidences of the burning of churches, plundering of monasteries, and hunting of priests were but too common.

These facts furnish some explanation,—though no justification—of the frenzy and cruelty of the scenes which transpired throughout many of the towns of France during the latter part of August, and during September, 1572. Mobs rose and fell upon the Huguenot inhabitants with murderous effect. According to Ranke, twenty thousand persons perished. Lingard estimates the number as less than two thousand, and he cites the reformed martyrologist, who procured lists from the ministers in all the different towns, and published the result in

1582, showing the names of only seven hundred and eighty-six persons. In their varying estimates of the number of victims, the majority of French historians do not go above 10,000. Even Froude is disposed to place the limit at this latter figure.*

This bloody uprising—called the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day — was all due to

* Massacres are precisely the events of history over which there is the greatest exaggeration. There have been bloody reprisals of this kind, like the Sicilian Vespers (A. D. 1282), where over 20,000 French were massacred, that far exceeded in fatality that of St. Bartholomew. Victor Hugo says: "One man is killed in Paris — it is murder. The throats of 50,000 people are cut in the East — it is a question." The Armenian and Bulgarian atrocities of our own time have cost more lives than many of the much-advertised cruelties of religious persecution. Much, in fact, depends on who are killed rather than on how many are killed. The French "reign of terror" killed nobles with relatives whose lamentation roused Europe. Yet Carlyle says: "This convention, now grown anti-Jacobin, did, with an eye to gratify and fortify itself, publish lists of what the Reign of Terror had perpetrated, lists of persons guillotined. The lists, cries splenetic Abbe Mountgaillard, were not complete. They contained the names of how many persons thinks the reader?—Two thousand all but a few. There were above 4,000 cries Mountgaillard."—Carlyle, French Revolution. "The Guillotine," Book vii., Chap. 6.

the apprehensive malice of the Queen regent, Catherine de Medicis, a singular woman, Catholic in name, Atheist in belief, and accustomed to have Calvinistic sermons read to her during meals. She, it was, who fired the mine of religious hate, which otherwise might never have exploded, in so sanguinary a fashion. She feared the political aspirations of Admiral Coligny, the Huguenot leader; and by her instigation Charles IX. gave the word that Coligny should die. The threats of the Huguenot chiefs at this outrage were so loud that a dangerous uprising was apprehended. It was then resolved to exterminate Coligny's principal followers, who were at that time rendezvoused at Paris. This was done. The populace joined in the work, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew ensued.

Charles IX. put a righteous construction on his bloody deed, in reporting it to the courts of Christendom. He was quick to represent it as a stroke of self-defense whereby, on a "memorable night, by the

destruction of a few seditious men, the King had been delivered of immediate danger of death and the realm from the perpetual terror of civil war." These were the words of the envoys, and on their strength the Pope ordered a "Te Deum" and struck a medal commemorating the preservation of Charles IX.'s precious life. Even Queen Elizabeth, the great friend of the Huguenots, was satisfied by the insinuating explanation of the French ambassador.

There was no attempt made to give the massacre anything but a political color. The only bright circumstance in the deplorable occurrence was the action of the Archbishop of Lyons and the Bishops of Lisieux, Bordeaux, Toulouse, and other localities, in sheltering the fleeing Huguenots and restraining the popular violence.

Instances are cited of the occasion being utilized for private revenge and for plunder. Not a few Catholics perished as a consequence, among them a priest at

Bourges, and a canon of Notre Dame at Paris. "The possession of wealth," says Mezeray, "an envied position, or the existence of greedy relations, stamped a man as a Huguenot."

"For, beyond all doubt the proceedings of the Huguenots, from the conspiracy of Amboise, to the battle of Moncontour, had given much more trouble to the French monarchy than the Catholics have ever given to the English monarchy since the Reformation; and that too with much less excuse."

Macaulay's Essays. "Hallam."

"It is on account of these things that we ought not to be surprised that during many years the French Protestants, who affected to appeal to the right of private judgment, were more intolerant of the exercise of that judgment by their adversaries than were the Catholics. Thus, while the Catholics were theoretically more bigoted than the

Protestants, the Protestants became practically more bigoted than the Catholics."

Buckle's "History of Civilization," Vol. 2, pp. 52-3. London, Longman's, Green & Co. 1882.

"Whatever may be the popular notion respecting the necessary intolerance of the Catholics, it is an indisputable fact that early in the seventeenth century they displayed in France a spirit of forbearance and a Christian charity to which the Protestants could make no pretence."

Buckle's "History of Civilization." Vol. 2, p. 65.

"Probably the number of victims [in Paris] may have amounted to 6,000, but to reduce it as low as 1,600 for all France, which Dr. Lingard has done, is monstrously absurd. All that we know positively is that a certain number of bodies were burned, and beyond that all is conjecture. * * * If it be necessary to choose from these haphazard estimates, that of De Thou [20,000] is preferable from the calm unexaggerating temper of the man. But whatever be the

number, not all the waters of the ocean can efface the stain upon the character of those concerned in the massacre. A few of the murderers — men of overheated fanaticism — may have truly believed they were doing God a service by putting heretics to death. For these we may feel pity even while we condemn. But the majority were impelled by the lowest of all possible motives — jealousy and ambition filled the breast of Catharine de Medicis; Anjou was envious of merits and virtue. * * * Guise dreamed but of revenge. * * * The massacre of St. Bartholomew arose out of the paltriest and most selfish of motives. * * * The plea of religion was never put forward, though it is a plea too often employed to extenuate what cannot be justified."

"The Massacre of St. Bartholomew." By Henry White, New York. Harper Bros., 1868, pp. 459-62.

"According to the most moderate calculation there fell 2,000 persons in Paris alone,

and the number massacred in France was not less than 20,000."

"Civil Wars and Monarchy in France." Leopold Ranke. Chap. xv. (last paragraph.)

"The reformed martyrologist adopted a measure of ascertaining the real number, which may enable us to form a probable conjecture. He procured from the ministers in the different towns where the massacres had taken place, lists of the names of the persons who had suffered, or were supposed to have suffered. He published the result in 1582; and the reader will be surprised to learn that in all France he could discover the names of no more than seven hundred and eighty-six persons. Perhaps, if we double that number, we shall not be far from the real amount."

Lingard. "History of England," Vol. VIII., Note 7.

"The clergy, in spite of all the ill-usage they had received from the heretics, saved as many of them as they could in various places."

Fleury, tom. XXXV., Ch. 39, p. 170.

When the massacre of St. Bartholomew was first reported at Rome, it was given the appearance of a Huguenot insurrection against the king, which had been fortunately put down. Church authorities naturally exhibited that international comity which is expected between friendly powers when one nation has escaped a political disaster. The following extract from Guizot's History of France (Vol. 4, Ch. 33, page 384), makes it very clear that the Pope did not sympathize with any deed of bloodshed:

"When, however, later on a detailed and faithful account of the massacre reached the Pontiff, he condemned it at once and left no doubt as to his horror at the deed. When asked by the Cardinal why he wept, Gregory answered, 'I weep at the means the king used, exceedingly unlawful and forbidden by God, to inflict such punishment. I fear that one will fall upon him, and that he will not live very long. I fear, too, that amongst so many dead, there died as many innocent as guilty.' "

GALILEO.

NEARLY two centuries before Galileo, the probability of the earth's motion around the sun was broached by Cardinal Cusa. But the learned world tolerated the supposition merely, and held firmly to the Ptolemaic, or geocentric theory. About the middle of the sixteenth century, Copernicus, a Polish priest, published his great work on the revolution of the heavenly bodies, and the theory was then called the Copernican system. The learned world was still obdurate; the theory was looked upon as a clever guess.

In 1596 Keppler, "the founder of modern astronomy," then teaching at the University of Tuebinger, fell foul of the Lutheran theological faculty by advocating the truth of Copernicanism. These Lutheran inquisitors condemned the theory of the

earth's motion as heretical; and Keppler had to quit their university and find refuge in a Jesuit college.

Galileo had his first brush with the churchly scientists in 1615. He thought he found the Copernican theory to be something more than a mere probability, and he proceeded to advocate it as an established truth. Especially did he concern himself with explaining away the eternal Biblical nut of his opponents — Joshua's order compelling the sun to stand still. This brought him into the full stream of exegetical discussion, and certain churchmen denounced his writings before the Roman Inquisition. We can only remark of the Roman Inquisition that it was a fallible tribunal, and no wiser than its day. Secchi, the astronomer, tells us that "none of the real proofs of the earth's rotation upon its axis were known at the time of Galileo." Not until Reaumer had ascertained the velocity of light, and Newton, the laws of gravitation, was the

scientific truth of the system established. Bacon in England, Descartes in France, Tycho-Brah in Germany, and all the universities of Europe were contemporaneously ignorant of, and prejudiced against, Copernicanism equally with the conscientious Biblical scholars who made up the Roman Inquisition. They found that the earth's moving about the sun was theologically opposed to Holy Writ, and they placed the book of Copernicus on the Index. Galileo was admonished to let the subject rest, and he agreed to do so.

Subsequently—in 1633—the matter again came before the Inquisition because of a book written by Galileo, in which, contrary to the command of the Inquisition, he had again argued in favor of Copernicanism. With the exception of being threatened with torture unless he told the truth as to his intentions in publishing his book, Galileo was well treated during this second trial. The Inquisitors, with such wisdom as was current in their day, again bolstered

up the old Ptolemaic system as the only theory which would accord with Joshua's command to the sun, and condemned Galileo's teaching as a false opinion, opposed to Scripture.

Galileo was well liked at Rome, the then Pope being a personal friend of his. A month after his trial he was peacefully living at home, pursuing his scientific studies and visiting his daughters occasionally at a convent in which they were cloistered nuns. The only penalty imposed upon him was the daily recitation of the seven Penitential Psalms. He received a pension from the Papal government, and died (1642), as he had lived, a very religious man.

Allegations that Galileo was tortured by the Inquisition, or cast into a dungeon, or sentenced to imprisonment, are without foundation, and the decrees of the Roman Inquisition, while they illustrate the fallibility of churchmen, are strenuously objected to by Catholics as in no manner

constituting the action of the church, since they were neither the decrees of a general council nor the *ex cathedra* promulgations of the Pope.

"The ecclesiastical authorities were naturally adverse to express themselves in favor of a novel opinion, startling to the common mind, and contrary to the most obvious meaning of the words of the Bible. And when they were compelled to pronounce they decided against Galileo and his doctrines. He was accused before the inquisition in 1615, but at that period the result was that he was merely recommended to confine himself to the mathematical reasonings upon the system and to abstain from meddling with the Scripture. * * * But in 1632 he published his *Dialogo, etc.* * * * The result was that Galileo was condemned for his infraction of the injunction laid upon him in 1615. * * * This celebrated event must be looked upon

rather as a question of decorum than a struggle, in which the interests of truth and free inquiry were deeply concerned. The general acceptance of the Copernican theory was no longer a matter of doubt. Several persons in the highest authority, including the Pope himself, looked upon the doctrine with favorable eyes, and had shown their interest in Galileo's discoveries. They had tried to prevent his involving himself in trouble by discussing the question on Scriptural grounds. * * * Throughout the course of the proceedings against him, Galileo was treated with great courtesy and indulgence. He was condemned to a formal imprisonment and a very light discipline. * * * It has sometimes been asserted or insinuated that Galileo was subjected to bodily torture, * * but M. Biot more justly remarks (Biogr. Universal, Art. "Galileo") that such a procedure is incredible. To the opinion of M. Biot we may add that of Delambre who rejects

the notion of Galileo having been put to torture."

"History of Inductive Sciences" by Wm. Whewell, D.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. N. Y. D. Appleton & Co., 1869, Vol. I., pp. 282-4.

"The published documents of the trial do not sustain the charge that he [Galileo] was tortured. He made public recantations the next day. The famous legend that, on rising from his knees after his recantation he exclaimed "*e pur si mouve*" (And yet it does move) seems to have no adequate foundation."

Schaff-Herzog Dictionary. Article on "Inquisition." Philip Schaff, D.D., Editor Union Theological Seminary, N. Y. The Christian Literature Co., Publishers, N. Y., 1888.

"The Church gives her decisions of doctrine, not through the declarations of any such tribunals as the Holy Office or the Congregation of the Index. These are only subordinate working offices or bureaus for the expediting of business. They are not clothed with her supreme authority. When she defines doctrines it is through her

General Councils and through the voice of her Supreme Pontiff, speaking ex cathedra."

American Cath. Quar. Review, Vol. VII., p. 104.

On January 10, 1634, Descartes writes to Father Marsenne: "Of course, you are well aware that Galileo has been up before the Inquisition, and his opinion about the earth's motion has been condemned as heretical. But as I have not yet heard that this censure has been authorized by the Pope (that is, officially), but merely by a congregation of cardinals, I have not yet abandoned all hope." Gassendi says: "For myself, I reverence the decree whereby *certain cardinals* are said to have approved of the earth's stationariness. For though the Copernicans maintain that these texts of Scripture are not to be taken literally — nevertheless, since these texts are explained differently by men whose authority (as is manifest) is so great in the Church, for that reason I stand on their side, and do not blush on this occasion to hold my intellect

captive. Not that on that account *I deem it an article of faith;* for — so far as I know — that is not asserted by [these cardinals] themselves, nor *is it promulgated and received throughout the Church.*" In 1651, Father Riccioli, S. J., writes: "It is not as yet of faith that the sun moves and the earth remains stationary by reason of the Congregational decrees, inasmuch as neither the Pope, nor any council approved by him, has issued a definition upon this point."

"Galileo, on Feb. 26, 1616, properly closed his case then before the Holy Office. Another congregation, that of the Index, had taken up the matter, and on March 5th, published a general disciplinary rule and enactment prohibiting henceforth books that upheld the Copernican theory as absolute truth, that theory being erroneous and contrary to the Holy Scripture, and also requiring that such books, already published, should be so amended as to present the theory in an hypothetical form,

or mere theory, not as an established positive truth. * * * The congregation of the Index acted as it had been declared it would act. In 1752 the decree of 1616, against teaching Copernicanism as an absolute truth, was revoked."

American Cath. Quar. Review, Vol. VII., p. 94.

"Still, we may regret that the Congregation of the Index did not accept the wise councils of Cardinal Barberini, and of others agreeing with him, and abstain altogether from enacting the decree."

American Cath. Quar. Review, Vol. VII., p. 113.

FAWKES, OATES, AND GORDON.

THREE lurid episodes in the history of religious persecution in England are the Gunpowder Plot (1605), the revelations of Titus Oates (1678-82), and the Lord Gordon riots (1780). Each has its own significance—the Gunpowder plot illustrating to what desperate methods persecution may drive bold men; the Oates revelations discovering the almost incredible gullibility of a bigoted nation and its ruthless readiness to revenge its blind fears upon the weak minority; and the Lord Gordon riots forming an instance of a frequent tendency in English Protestantism to assert itself in mob uprisings.

There were scarcely a dozen English Catholics in the secret of the Gunpowder plot (1605). It was a most desperately

formed plan to blow the king, lords, and commons of England into eternity, to seize the heir to the throne, and to proclaim a Catholic protector. It is not probable that, in any event, the plot could not have got further than the explosion of the thirty-six barrels of gun-powder that Guy Fawkes was prepared to fire in the vault under the Parliament building. A Catholic peer, Lord Mounteagle, whom the conspirators wished to save from the wreck, was warned not to attend Parliament on the day appointed; he it was who gave the conspiracy away. But the fact that a rational Catholic frustrated this nihilistic plot of a dozen of his frenzied co-religionists, did not save the whole English Catholic community. They all felt the heavy hand of Protestant resentment. If they had ground for complaint before the fifth of November, 1605, they were given double ground for mourning after that date. They had expected better things of James I. when he came to the English throne in

1603; his mother had been a Catholic, and Catholics had bled in her defense. James might at least suspend the harsh laws against the poor Papists, but he did not. All the fines for not attending Protestant worship were freshly enforced against them; twenty pounds a month, and a forfeiture of two-thirds of their goods, if the fine remained unpaid, was the penalty, and a horde of Scotch court followers were enriched by it. The Catholics of England were pauperized. Every man connected with the Gunpowder plot — especially Robert Catesby, the real instigator of it—had suffered personally for his religion. Disappointment, despair, and resentment were the feelings that possessed them. Henry IV. of France advised James that while these men must be punished, he should recognize the evil of persecution in driving men to such deeds, and goad the Catholics no farther. This wisdom was too advanced for the English parliament of that day. They enacted additional penal laws, debarring Catholics from the practice

of law or surgery, from residing in London, and from acting as executors. Catholic parents were fined a hundred pounds for every child they failed to have baptized as a Protestant, and the king was empowered to seize, if he desired, two-thirds of the goods of Catholics failing to attend Protestant worship. James exercised this power by granting to his favorites the right of "making profit" out of certain specified nobles. The Earl of Northumberland was fined £300,000.

One feature of the Gunpowder plot was the attempt to connect the Jesuits with it. The Jesuit provincial, Father Garnet, was executed because it appeared that he had some knowledge of the existence of the conspiracy, indirectly obtained under seal of the confessional. It was claimed for him that he had done all in his power to dissuade the desperate men from their purpose. The offense charged against him was his being privy to the plot and not revealing it; he contended that the secrecy

of the confessional obliged him to refrain from turning informer.

The influence of this plot affected the imagination of succeeding generations of Englishmen. Jesuits and plotting Papists were credited with every dire and damaging occurrence. The air of England for two centuries was surcharged with prejudice against them. When two-thirds of London was burned, in 1666, the catastrophe was placed at the door of the Catholics, and the pillar erected to commemorate the great fire bore that groundless charge against them for nearly two hundred years.* (It was finally erased in 1830 by order of the London aldermen.)

The stories perpetrated by Titus Oates in 1678 against the Catholics, pandered to this deep-rooted, gullible, and insensate prejudice. Oates was an adventurer of bad

* Pope makes reference to this circumstance in these lines:

"Where London's column pointing to the skies
Like a tall bully, lifts its head and lies."

character; his success and the gratitude he evoked by "his providential disclosures," induced other adventurers to follow his example. One of these was a convict named Bedloe; another was a young man named Dangerfield, who had been convicted of numerous crimes; there were a dozen in all, some of them imported from Ireland, to prove the existence of a Popish plot there. All united in alleging that there was a Catholic conspiracy to murder the king, massacre the Protestants, and bring in a French army of subjugation. There were numerous variances, contradictions, and inconsistencies in the testimony of these men, but their explanation that they "were sick," or "did not recollect clearly," or "were mistaken in the details," were accepted by the gullible public. The killing of Godfrey, a magistrate before whom Oates had made his deposition, was the circumstance which first gave credibility to the disclosures. It was never discovered who killed Godfrey, but the Jesuits had immediate credit for it.

Then began a series of prosecutions running through several years, and resulting in the execution of a large number of Catholics, among them twenty-four priests and several noblemen. The evidence against these men is now admitted to have been the purest fabrication on the part of the brood of informers whom Oates' success had stimulated. At one time several thousand Catholics were jailed and nearly thirty thousand of them expelled from London. The duke of York (subsequently James II.) was forced into exile; the Queen herself was accused by Oates; and a measure was passed by which the Catholic peers were excluded from the House of Lords — to which they did not again return for one hundred and fifty years. Political leaders, like Shaftsbury, fomented the plot for partisan reasons, whether they credited it or not. There were undoubtedly many persons, aside from the Catholics, who saw the entire falseness of the imposture, but the mob spirit carried them off their feet or

silenced them. Sir William Temple was threatened by Lord Fairfax for doubting the justice of executing certain priests. "He would tell everybody I was a Papist, affirming that the plot must be handled as if it were true, whether it was so or no."*

Such was this sanguinary hoax which for five years imposed on the English nation, dealing death to the innocent and controlling the politics of the court and commons. Oates was finally brought to justice, exposed, and severely punished, but he lived long enough to be pardoned and pensioned when William of Orange came to the throne.

Towards the year 1780 there was a disposition on the part of the English parliament to relieve Catholics and dissenters from some of the grievous penalties under which they were placed. Protestant associations were formed throughout England to defeat that

*Temple, Vol. II., p. 506.

disposition and to rivet the shackles. Lord George Gordon was President of these associations. Parliament paying little attention to their petitions, the Protestant Associations were ordered by Gordon to come in a great body and present their petition en masse. Out of their assemblage developed a numerous London mob, which, inflamed by fanatics, and inspired by the pillage of liquor stores, started to purge London of the Papists. For several days they had the metropolis of England more or less in their power. The prisons were opened and the thief, the robber, and the incendiary came out to aid the cause. At one time thirty-six fires were raging within the city limits. Houses were looted and property was destroyed. The riots were finally put down by calling in the military forces. Lord Gordon went free of punishment, owing to the skillful defense of Erskine. His erratic carreer was topped off by his conversion to Judaism in 1793, just prior to his death.

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